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HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY
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AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE," AND PROFESSOR
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INTRODUCTION.

As the sixteenth century dawned, Europe had already passed beyond the mediæval mile-stone. The old horizon had begun to recede in every direction. To all who had eyes to see, an enlarged outlook was presented. The mists brooding over the Western sea had been lifted, and the extended line of a new continent disclosed. At the same time, the past had been penetrated, and a long-hidden world brought to view. While the love of adventure, worldly gain, and thirst for dominion, were directing the attention of men to the American shores, the interests of literature and scholarship were summoning them to explore the treasures of classic Greece and Rome. Even the heavens began to wear a new aspect, at least to the eyes of individuals; for it was in the first years of the sixteenth century that Copernicus broached his theory of the solar system. To crown all, the printing-press, invented near the middle of the preceding century, was at work to bring near to the common man all the varied acquisitions of the age.

This enlarged horizon, this quickened intellectual life, these new facilities for the acquisition and communication of knowledge, proclaimed that the fulness

of time had come for the Reformation. They are not indeed properly described as causes of the Reformation. They were rather allies, helping on the movement to a successful issue. They subserved in the sixteenth century somewhat the same office that Roman roads and Roman civilization subserved at the beginning of the Christian era. The widening area of mental alertness and the spirit of inquiry gave a broad field to the reformer's message. The fundamental cause of the Reformation, however, the cause back of the message itself, and informing it with victorious energy, was intense religious conviction, enlightened and sustained by close contact with the Word of God.

In defining the Reformation it is not needful to take any extended notice of the Roman Catholic estimate. That estimate is a necessary attachment of an unmeasured assumption, whose proper refutation is an unbiassed history of the Church from the beginning to the present. The devotees of an infallible, visible Church are logically shut up to the conclusion that the Reformation was a wicked rebellion, a reckless plunge into anarchy, a most heinous and unjustifiable revolution. As Pallavicino said in the seventeenth century, "The [Roman] Catholic faith rests upon a single indivisible article; namely, the authority of the infallible Church. So soon as one would take away a part he destroys the whole, for it is plain that the indivisible must stand altogether or fall altogether." In the eyes of the Romanist, therefore, it must go for nothing that the Reformation acknowledged many points of doctrine found in his system. In attacking the supreme authority of the Church, it attacked every thing, and assumed the char-

acter of a wild revolutionary outbreak. The only good which it accomplished resulted from its gathering the impure elements of the Church into itself. "Our poignant grief," says Möhler, "is modified by the consciousness that that wound has become at the same time an outlet through which all the impurities flow away, which men have brought within the domain of the Church."

Möhler is right in assuming that the Reformation benefited the Roman Catholic Church, but totally wrong in his illustration of the method in which the benefit was imparted. It was not by draining the corruptions of its opponent into itself, but by re-acting upon it through its higher moral and religious life, that Protestantism benefited the Roman Church. To say nothing about spirituality, Romanism owes no small part of such moral respectability as it has maintained during the last three centuries, to the quickening currents which the Reformation brought into Europe.

Though the Reformation was in a sense a reproduction of primitive Christianity, it was not an exact reproduction. It brought forth a clearer and more emphatic assertion of the Pauline doctrines of sin and grace than was current in the early Church in any century of its history, at least after the days of the Apostles. The early Church, no doubt, possessed the essentials of the Protestant theology; but it did not hold them with the Protestant tenacity, was not fully dominated by a Protestant consciousness.

Viewed on its positive side, the Reformation was the vindication of two fundamental principles; namely, justification by faith, and the sole authority of the Scrip-

tures,— the material and the formal principle, as they have been respectively termed. Under the conditions then existing, these principles had a profound significance. They were a proclamation of the direct connection of the individual with God and the spiritual world. They were a protest against the overgrown system of human mediation, and a summons to the fountain-head of grace and instruction. They were means of wresting men out of the condition of passive subjects, and of bringing them under the ennobling stimulus of a felt responsibility for the use of their own powers in apprehending and working out religious truth.

Viewed on the negative side, the Reformation was a revolt of the human mind against the despotism of a corrupted hierarchy. For a long time the awakening mind of Europe had been growing impatient toward the unbounded claims of ecclesiastical authority. The statesman, the scholar, the intelligent religionist, all classes of enterprising minds, felt inwardly affronted by these claims. The Reformation was a response, not merely to needs distinctly religious, but to the widespread aspirations after freedom. The movement had begun before ever Luther dreamed of breaking with the papacy. Indeed, for two centuries or more the forces of society had been pressing toward a decisive issue. An outbreak of some kind, a revolution if not a reformation, had become well-nigh inevitable.

Such a tremendous revolt against the customs and beliefs of centuries was naturally attended with violent passions, with many crudities in opinion, and many errors in conduct. Released, or incited to hope for release,

from the thralldom by which they had been bound, the ignorant masses might be expected to overstep, sometimes, the limits between freedom and license. Even the most distinguished leaders of the reform might be expected to be subject to the hot passions of the age, and to fall into more or less of self-contradiction, blindly violating the very principles which the Reformation was appointed to establish, and which ultimately it did establish. None but a romancer would look for an unblemished ideal in the Reformation. As matter of fact, it shows many an unwelcome phase. But these by no means nullify its historical worth and grandeur. One may give them the fullest consideration, and still approve the Reformation as an untold benefaction; for it laid the basis for that manly freedom and intelligence in religion, without which the race can accomplish no worthy destiny.

The period in which the Reformation falls is properly extended to the year 1648. The peace of Westphalia, consummated in that year, marks a turning-point in modern history. From the opening of the Reformation up to that date, the antagonism between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism had been the most prominent factor in the life and politics of Europe. It is true that even during this period, the rivalries of leading Roman Catholic princes brought them occasionally into war with each other. The Protestants also did not maintain harmony among themselves. The different Protestant communions engaged in bitter theological controversies, and indulged more or less of mutual proscription. These, however, were instances of minor conflicts included within a greater. The antagonism most com-

prehensively and deeply affecting the history was that between Protestantism and Romanism. But after the peace of Westphalia, the influence of this factor was greatly modified. "It was by the treaty of Westphalia," says Guizot, "that the Catholic and Protestant States reciprocally acknowledged each other, and engaged to live in amity and peace, without regard to difference of religion. After this, difference of religion ceased to be the leading principle of the classification of states, of their external policy, their relations and alliances. Down to that time, notwithstanding great variations, Europe was essentially divided into a Catholic league and a Protestant league. After the treaty of Westphalia this distinction disappeared; and alliances or divisions among states took place from considerations altogether foreign to religious belief."

THE MODERN CHURCH.

FIRST PERIOD

1517-1648.

CHAPTER I.

HUMANISM, AND ITS RELATION TO THE REFORMATION.

THE closing period of the mediæval Church has introduced us to most of the factors which entered into the preparation for the Reformation. It was seen that the hierarchy had scarcely completed its gigantic structure and organized the inquisitorial enginery which should preserve it intact, before the nemesis which usually follows in the wake of all earthly self-deification began to work. Event after event and movement after movement occurred, tending to undermine the papal autocracy, and to disrupt the system of which it was the central feature.

Among the developments of that fruitful era, humanism, or the classic renaissance, was by no means the least important. It marked not simply an epoch in the progress of culture, but had a noteworthy bearing upon religious history. So close did it lie to the opening stages

of the Reformation, that it necessarily comes into the field of vision as we look to that great movement. This fact, as previously indicated, explains the postponement of the topic to the present connection.

A uniform effect of humanism cannot be affirmed, inasmuch as it was not a uniform fact. Its representatives in different times and countries, or even within the same time and country, exhibited diverse tendencies. Still, there were characteristic features in humanism, working in nearly all quarters towards common results. It everywhere acted as an offset to the scholastic theology. The taste for elegance and refinement which it begot naturally made men impatient with the dry and ponderous elaborations of the scholastic doctors. At the same time, by exalting the republic of letters, and proclaiming the value of the classic civilizations, it trenched upon the exclusive dominion which had been arrogated by the ecclesiastical. It widened appreciation for purely human interests, the interests of men as members of intellectual society. It worked thus in general toward the transition from the mediæval to the modern world. Evidently in doing this much it made a certain contribution to the Reformation. It prepared an open field for it in proportion as it disengaged the heart and will of Europe from the theocratic system of the middle ages. Within certain limits it rendered a more positive service to the reform movement. Where the philological zeal which it awakened was joined with a hearty appreciation for the Bible, it gave a fresh and powerful stimulus to a thorough study of the Scriptures, thus becoming an ally of the evangelical faith. This was very largely the case among the Germanic nations.

Humanism, it is true, gave rise to tendencies which were less friendly to the Reformation. The unchristian tone of some of its representatives, their virtual paganism in thought and conduct, naturally turned to the prejudice of liberal sentiments, and helped on a reaction in favor of the old ecclesiastical system. It is made abundantly clear that the classic renaissance by itself had no adequate power to regenerate Europe. In energy and propelling force it stood far below the evangelical renaissance. Still, a true insight into the conflicting currents of the age would probably reveal the fact that humanism, on the whole, was rather the ally than the opponent of the Reformation.

Italy, as respects the classic revival, was in advance of the rest of Europe by the breadth of a century. This is explained in part by her position as the more immediate heir to Roman antiquities. It is explained also by the fact that she was specially exposed to the advancing and retreating waves of the crusades, and so took a large share in the schooling which Europe, as a whole, received from those mighty enterprises. It was furthermore due in some degree, as may plausibly be assumed, to the peculiar political status of the country. Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was a multitude of political units. The governments of the different cities, whether despotic or republican, had abundant occasion for a diligent cultivation of statecraft. There was very little of the sentiment of loyalty to uphold them. Their tenure of power depended largely upon means of popularity and prestige. One and another successful example of the patronage of art and scholarship suggested that in these departments

might be found a most serviceable ornament and support of authority. It became, in fact, a fashion with the Italian magnates and municipalities, to promote their own lustre by patronizing a class of literati. Even the most petty tyrant began to think his personal importance inadequately provided for without this appendage.

The dawn of humanism in Italy may be placed near the middle of the fourteenth century. Its culmination occurred in the latter part of the fifteenth century. • In the Italian renaissance the primacy may be said to have been held by the Latin classics. Greek was zealously cultivated for a time, especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the consequent sojourn of many fugitive Greeks in Italy; but it failed to hold rank with the Latin. Before the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Greek scholarship had largely faded from Italy, and had taken up its abode in the nations to the north.

The first distinguished representatives of humanism in Italy were the great poets of the fourteenth century. The greatest of these, however, was not the most intimately associated with the rise of the new learning. Dante remained in general within the circle of mediæval theology and philosophy. His temper was not just that of the typical humanist. While he studied the best of the Latin poets, he was drawn to them not so much by the charm and polish of their verse as by the suggestiveness of their matter. Still, as he brought the classic realm into view, and often employed both a pagan and a Christian illustration of the same fact, his influence was in the direction of the classic revival which found its prophet in the great poet of the next generation,

Petrarch.¹ In Petrarch, love for Roman antiquity was a passion. He vied with his contemporary Rienzi in zeal for the classic ideal, and in the warmth of his desire for its embodiment in Rome he did not escape altogether the doctrinaire temper of the famous tribune. The leading ambition of Petrarch is seen in his estimate of his own productions. Though his Italian verse has been his chief title to immortality, his own expectation of lasting fame was wholly centred upon his labors in reproducing the types of Latin literature. Boccaccio, though less in genius than his contemporary Petrarch, was also an influential champion of the antique.

Among the later phases of the Italian renaissance, that in which the study of the Platonic philosophy became a dominant factor is worthy of special mention. The Medici at Florence were its patrons; Marsilius Ficinus was one of its most industrious, John Pico of Mirandola one of its ablest, exponents. While not free from speculative aberrations, Pico wins respect on several grounds. He moved within a much broader horizon than the average humanist, with his one-sided regard for the classic model, and understood much better the claims of Christian devotion.

A previous reference to Laurentius Valla has served to indicate that Italian humanism made a noteworthy beginning in the direction of historical criticism. It may be added here that Valla also accomplished somewhat for the critical consideration of the Greek text of

¹ Compare J. Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy*, translated from the German by S. G. C. Middlemore; G. Voigt, *Der Wiedererleben des classischen Alterthums*; L. Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*.

the New Testament. His work in this line, if not important in itself, was still fruitful as affording a special stimulus to Erasmus.

A sweeping charge of scepticism against the Italian humanists would savor of untruth. From Petrarch onwards, there was a succession of writers who never forgot their allegiance to Christianity. Still, it is undeniable that scepticism made wide inroads among the humanists of Italy in the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the sixteenth. Very few, indeed, came out into open profession of unbelief; very few wished to die without the sacraments of the Church; but there were many who, in their younger days and in prosperous times, really treated Christianity as an obsolete system, and doubtless looked upon it with a species of inward disdain. As an example of the more ultra and outspoken unbelief, we may mention Gabrielle de Salò, a physician who was arraigned at Bologna in 1497. Like others in that era who discredited Christianity, he was a firm believer in astrology. He taught that Christ was a skilful deceiver, who performed his miracles through the influence of the heavenly bodies.¹ Scarcely more respectful toward revealed religion was Codrus Urceus, a professor in the University of Bologna. When asked by his hearers about a future life, he said that no one had any knowledge upon the subject, and that all the talk about a life hereafter was only fit to frighten old women.² The historian Guicciardini, who was many years in the service of the popes, expressed the opinion, that, with all the help which theologians and philosophers have assumed to give us, we are com-

¹ Burckhardt.

² Ibid.

pletely in the dark respecting the supernatural, and that miracles, as they occur in all religions, prove the truth of none.¹ Carlo Marsuppini of Arrezzo made no secret of his disdain for Christianity, and his preference for the classic paganism.² According to John Francis Pico, scepticism was enthroned in the chair of Peter. He credits one pope with disbelieving in God, and another with questioning man's immortality.³ No doubt some of the popes of the era lived as though both God and immortality were empty fictions; but it would probably be difficult to prove against them explicit charges of unbelief. Naturally, this unloosing from Christian faith, on the part of a class which received a good degree of flattery and worldly success, was not favorable to moral strictness. And, in fact, a pagan morality of the more degenerate type found a shameful list of votaries in Italian society in the fifteenth century.⁴ The moral pestilence, however, should not be laid wholly to the charge of humanism. Clerical ungodliness and license, with their culminating phases at the papal court, were the more guilty factors in spreading corruption.

The zeal for the new learning, which possessed Italy, touched, more or less, nearly all the countries of Europe. It found admission into Spain, notwithstanding the re-action against liberal tendencies had already been inaugurated in that country before the close of the

¹ Burckhardt.

² L. Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*.

³ D'Aubigné, *Book I. chap. vii.*

⁴ Ranke: *Geschichte der romanischen u. germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514*. Voigt: *Wiedererlebung des classischen Alterthums*.

fifteenth century. Francis Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, was its most distinguished supporter. Though himself a patron of the Inquisition, he protected the learned Anthony of Lebrija against that tribunal, and employed his assistance, with that of other scholars, in compiling the valuable Complutensian Polyglot.

In France the influence of the University of Paris stood in the way of humanism, and those who were in favor of it were obliged to proceed with great caution. Francis I., however, was personally inclined to befriend the humanists, and through his patronage they obtained a measure of protection. In Greek scholarship the Parisian William Budaeus won high distinction. Indeed, in this field he probably excelled Erasmus, though not his equal in general learning. In Jacques Lefèvre of Étaple (*Faber Stapulensis*) warm appreciation for the new line of study was joined with an evangelical and reforming temper. He provoked, accordingly, the persecuting zeal of the theological faculty in the Paris University, — the so-called Sorbonne.

Individuals in England had their attention directed to the claims of the humanistic culture in the early part of the fifteenth century. Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who communicated with Poggio at the Council of Constance, and Adam Mulin, who met Aeneas Sylvius at Basle, caught somewhat of the interest of the Italian scholars. At the end of the century, as Erasmus came to England, he found there a considerable group of congenial spirits, — men like William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, and John Colet, who had studied in Italy and gained a fair introduction to Greek scholarship. Thomas More was also a conspicuous

figure in the circle of English humanists. Colet first gave proof of his talents in courses of lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul, which he began to deliver gratuitously at Oxford in 1496. In these lectures, as also in the sermons which he afterwards preached as dean of St. Paul's, Colet showed himself to be a man of discriminating mind and devout evangelical temper, and so free-spoken withal that the more zealous upholders of the old order of things were moved to assign him his portion with the heretics. The interests of practical religion were uppermost in his estimate. Great as was his zeal for learning, he knew how to keep it in proper subordination. The words which he wrote to Erasmus, after receiving the book of Reuchlin on the Cabala, are a good index of his habit of thought: "There is nothing better for this brief life than that we live holily and purely, and daily give heed that we may be cleansed and illuminated, and may attain to that which the Pythagoric and Cabalistic lore of Reuchlin promises, but which, in my judgment, we can acquire in no other way than through ardent love and imitation of Jesus."¹ It was not merely the language of friendly exaggeration, when Erasmus wrote, on hearing of the death of Colet in 1519, "O true theologian! O wonderful preacher of evangelical doctrine! With what earnestness did he drink in the philosophy of Christ! How eagerly did he imbibe the spirit and feelings of St. Paul! How did the purity of his whole life correspond to his heavenly doctrine!"² Thomas More, though probably not exerting so deep an influence on Erasmus as did

¹ *Erasmii Opera*, Epist. ccxli.

² Quoted by F. Seebohm in his *Oxford Reformers of 1498*.

Colet, won equally his affection and esteem. With great warmth he speaks of More's good qualities, his kindly humor, his affability, his beautiful and affectionate management of his home. "If any one desires," he writes to Hutten, "a perfect example of real friendship, from no one will he seek it with more propriety than from More."¹ Again he asks, "Whenever did Nature mould a subject more gentle, more sweet, or more happy than Thomas More?"²

Colet died before his adherence to his liberal principles had fairly been put to the test by the stirring crisis of the Reformation. More was less fortunate, and made a record finally which stands in sharp contrast with the sentiments expressed at an earlier date. In his "Utopia" he plainly intimated that he was opposed to persecution for the sake of religion, to the encouraging of vagabond friars, to the veneration of images, and to the worship of saints; that he considered confession to a priest unnecessary, and celibacy on the part of priests nothing essential or desirable. But in his later years, fearing, perhaps, that the Reformation would lead to fanaticism, he turned apologist for the corrupt Church, and acted the part of an energetic persecutor of the Protestants.

The influence of the Italian humanism upon Germany dates also from the council of Constance. Marked results, however, were not at once realized. Even the residence of Æneas Sylvius in the country, for a considerable interval, was not productive of any extended enthusiasm for classic culture. Germany had too little of friendly feeling toward the Italians to be in haste to borrow their products. Still, near the close of the

¹ Epist. ccccxlvi.

² Epist. xiv.

century, when the printing-press had made books in a measure a substitute for the teacher, not a few minds began to be touched by the spirit of the classic renaissance. In this number were Alexander Hegius and Rudolf Agricola.

Conspicuous among the German humanists for their connection with public events in the transition era, as well as for their literary achievements, were Reuchlin and Hutten. If we join the Netherlands with Germany, we have in connection with them the still more celebrated Erasmus. These three men held a specially important relation to the inauguration of the Reformation, and our chapter may fitly close with a brief sketch of each.

John Reuchlin was born in 1455, at Pfortzheim. After studying for a time at Freiburg, he found opportunity, at about the age of eighteen, to continue his education at Paris. Here he came into contact with men of cultivated taste, among whom was his own countryman Agricola. A good foundation had already been laid in the classics, as in 1474 he proceeded to Basle. During his four-years stay in this place, he took his academic degrees, and acquired some reputation as a lecturer upon both the Latin and the Greek languages. To perfect himself in the latter, he made another visit to Paris. Though wedded to the scholar's career, he now thought it advisable, in the interests of a livelihood, to turn his attention to the law. Accordingly at Orleans and Poitiers he prepared himself for the legal profession (1488-1491). The equipment thus obtained was utilized for a long period in the employ of the Count of Würtemberg, the German Emperor, and the

Swabian Alliance. From the Emperor he received a flattering token of regard in that he was raised to the rank of the nobility. But engrossment in business did not prevent Reuchlin from cultivating his favorite studies. Several visits to Italy, which were occasioned by his official duties, were made tributary to his zeal for learning. There he met those who were famed for scholarship, such as John Pico, and found means of prosecuting the favorite study of his later years, the Hebrew.

Among the literary productions of Reuchlin were some tributes to Latin and Greek scholarship; but his most significant works were connected with Hebrew. His "*Rudimenta Hebraica*," including both grammar and dictionary, marked an epoch in the cultivation of Hebrew among Christian scholars. What Erasmus did for the study of the New Testament, that Reuchlin accomplished for the study of the Old. In one respect, indeed, he ran into an excess of Hebraism. Imitating the philosophizing of the rabbins, like Pico he imbibed that peculiar Jewish mysticism known as cabalism, and held an altogether exaggerated view of its power to illuminate the problems of religion and philosophy. But this was an appendage which did not seriously interfere with the value of his general contribution. To use the figure of Wieland, it was a comparatively easy task to strip off the rabbinical grave-clothes, when once Hebrew literature had been called from the tomb. And that task was speedily accomplished, for very few followed Reuchlin in his estimate of the Cabala.

It was his love of Hebrew which involved Reuchlin in a stirring and fruitful controversy. A crusade had

been started against Jewish literature. The instigator of the crusade was a narrow-minded zealot, a converted Jew by the name of Pfefferkorn, who was baptized about 1506. Finding it no easy task to constrain the Jews to follow his example, he thought to remove a powerful prop of their stubborn reluctance by taking away their religious books. In this project he was seconded by the Cologne Dominicans with the inquisitor-general, Jacob Hochstraten, at their head. The Emperor at first countenanced the project, and a beginning was made of the wholesale confiscation of Jewish books which was contemplated. Meanwhile, however, the Emperor called for a judgment, on the proper disposition of the books, from several universities and individuals. Reuchlin, being among those called to pass an opinion, argued that only a very few books of the Jews were of a scandalous character, or prejudicial to Christianity; that the possessors even of these ought not to be deprived of them without regular process; that all other Jewish books should be left undisturbed; that, in place of using a violence sure to defeat its own aim, care should be taken to give thorough instruction in Hebrew at the universities, by which means apolo-gists well equipped to refute Jewish error would be supplied. The judgment of Reuchlin, which was rendered in 1510, seems to have been influential with the Emperor. At any rate, the crusade came to an end, and its agents and abettors charged Reuchlin with the responsibility. A bitter attack was accordingly begun against Reuchlin by Pfefferkorn and his allies. A war of pamphlets ensued. The contest became one of wide-reaching notoriety, so that its echoes were heard in the

different countries of Europe. The universities were generally adverse to Reuchlin, but he had his supporters. The humanists engaged actively in his defence; and even at the papal court, where the subject was finally brought for settlement, voices were raised in his favor. Leo X. gave the case into the hands of a commission, whose decision was for the acquittal of Reuchlin and the condemnation of the prosecutors to pay the costs. Thus the result was a great victory for the humanists, and an encouragement to all who were striving for the new order of things, as against a stolid and bigoted conservation of the mediæval system. The victory, it is true, had a qualifying feature. Leo prevented the favorable verdict from being proclaimed, by issuing a *mandatum de supersedendo*. Some years later (1520), yielding to the rebound which the advancing tide of the Reformation had caused in the circle of conservative Romanism, he issued a sentence adverse to Reuchlin, condemning the treatise (the *Augenspiegel*) in which he had defended his judgment on the Jewish books, and devolving on him the cost of the prosecution. But at so late a date the sentence attracted little notice, and had little significance. The victory of Reuchlin, rather than his ultimate condemnation, remained in the memory of men.¹

The relation of Reuchlin to the Reformation was not that of conscious favor. While he disapproved the burning of Luther's books, there is no reason to suppose that he had any special sympathy with the doctrines which they contained. To the last he regarded himself as an obedient son of the Roman Catholic Church.

¹ L. Geiger, Johann Reuchlin.

Still he wrought for the Reformation an unmistakable service. The Reformers fully acknowledged this. Luther thankfully called him his father, and on one occasion rendered to him this encomium: "The Lord has been at work in you, that the tyrannical rule of sophists might yield in a measure to the true studies of theology, and that renewed life might come to Germany, where, alas! the teaching of Holy Scripture has been for so many years not only restrained but extinct."¹ Melanchthon was under special obligations to Reuchlin. The master, delighted with the genius of his young pupil and relative, spared no pains in his education. The very name by which the Reformer is known is a memorial of the culture which he received at the hands of Reuchlin. His name was originally Schwartzerd. Reuchlin translated it into the more euphonious Greek equivalent, Melanchthon. The distinguished Swiss reformer, Œcolampadius, was also a pupil of Reuchlin; to say nothing about the large number of less noted scholars who owed to him a fruitful incentive.

Ulrich von Hutten was born in 1488, of a noble Franconian family. Destined by his parents to the priestly rank, he was sent at the age of eleven to the Benedictine cloister of Fulda. But the parental scheme by no means suited the restless temper of Hutten. He fled from the cloister, mingled with men of humanistic tastes, and educated himself in classic studies. After an adventurous life, ranging through Germany, Bohemia, and Italy, he appears at last, sick and poverty-stricken, at Basle. The cautious Erasmus refuses to

¹ Epist. cil., De Wette's edition.

befriend the proscribed man; but Zwingli at Zurich provides him an asylum, where he ends (1523) his singularly unquiet and romantic life, leaving, as his only bequest, his pen and his sword.

Hutten was possessed more by the negative than by the positive principles of the Reformation. He wished to batter down monkish superstitions and papal tyranny, and was ready to use his sword to this end, as well as his pen. An enthusiastic love of freedom was his ruling impulse. With the spirit of the humanist he joined the fire of the born knight. While capable of generosity and self-denial, such as were exhibited in his voluntary renunciation of all share in the family property, his life was probably, at least before his closing years, too much in the line of current license. The leading Reformers, though they valued his good intent, felt little assurance respecting the outcome of the methods and the temper which he brought to their cause. Hutten, on his part, while at first he regarded the Lutheran movement with comparative indifference, came at length to recognize in it a mighty engine against the Roman autocracy, and on this account bade it a most hearty God-speed.

If he built for himself no very substantial literary monument, Hutten was still a very effective writer for his own generation. His pen was mostly employed in sarcasm against the dulness and superstition of the monks, or in philippics against the papacy. Reuchlin's controversy naturally fired his zeal. He is supposed to have had part in two works which came forth as a seal upon the victory of the distinguished scholar; namely, "Reuchlin's Triumph" and the "Letters of Obscure

Men," — Triumphus Capnionis and Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum. In these letters (1515–1517) the monks discuss their adventures, the affairs of the day, and questions of casuistry, in barbarous Latin. The moral tone of the work was not of a high order; but it would seem that it was not conspicuously below the plane of a degenerate monasticism, for a considerable portion of the monks received it at first with jubilation as a capital stroke for their party against Reuchlin. In many cases its mimicry of speculative or practical fooleries was carried out with decided piquancy. It cites, for example, this brilliant and edifying example of logical discrimination. A renowned teacher spoke of a certain master as a member of ten universities. This was declared by a sharp-sighted critic to be out of the question, as implying that one member might have several bodies, whereas it pertains to one body to have several members. On the other hand, it would not do, he allowed, to call the said master the body, and to classify the ten universities as his members; for that would involve too great a disparagement of the universities. He therefore concluded, in accordance with the superior insight which he had gained at Louvain, that the master who has matriculated in ten universities is properly described only as he is brought under the plural category, and designated *members* of ten universities.¹ Equally edifying points are made in the line of casuistry. Thus, a monk writes to a superior to consult him on a difficulty. Two Jews were walking in the town, in a dress so like that of monks that he bowed to them by mistake. To have made obeisance to a

¹ David Strauss, Ulrich von Hutten.

Jew! Was this a venial or a mortal sin? Should he seek absolution from episcopal authority, or would it require a dispensation from the Pope?¹ Another trying case of conscience was involved in the question, whether the eating on Friday of an egg in which a chicken is observable is a violation of the fast-law or not. One party contended for the negative, inasmuch as the incipient fowl is to be compared with the worms which are found in cheese and cherries, and which one swallows down even in fast-time without scruple. The other party denied the validity of the parallel, inasmuch as worms belong to the same class as fishes, which are allowed to be eaten in fast-time, while the unhatched fowl belongs, beyond question, to the order of forbidden meats.²

Though drollery and caricature make up the body of the work, there is an occasional glimpse of serious thought and feeling. Thus, in response to the declaration of a monk that letters of indulgence are no less true than the gospel, and have equal virtue with the direct sentence of Christ himself, a preacher is made to use these earnest words: "Nothing is to be compared with the gospel, and he who lives rightly will be saved. Though one receives an indulgence a hundred times over, and does not live purely, he will be damned, and the indulgence will not profit him at all. On the other hand, if one lives uprightly, or, in case he sins, repents, and amends his ways, I declare that he, without resort to further expedients, will become a citizen of the heavenly kingdom."²

The dialogue was an apt vehicle for Hutten, and a

¹ Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers*.

² Strauss.

number of treatises in this form came from his pen. One of these published in 1520, and bearing the title "Vadiscus" or the "Roman Trinity," condenses charges which had been repeated more or less since the days of Marsilius of Padua. "Three things," it is said, "uphold Rome in her dignity: the personal consequence of the Pope, the bones of the saints, and the traffic in indulgences. Three things are banished from Rome: simplicity, moderation, and piety. Three things are in demand in Rome: short masses, old gold, and luxurious living. Of three things one wishes to hear nothing in Rome: a general council, reformation of the priestly rank, and that the Germans are becoming keen-minded. In three things the Romans traffic: the grace of Christ, ecclesiastical dignities, and women. Three things Rome brings to naught: the good conscience, the spirit of worship, and the oath. Three things pilgrims usually bring away from Rome: a bad conscience, a disordered stomach, and an empty purse. Three things Rome specially fears: that the princes should be united, that the people should open their eyes, and that her impostures should be uncovered."¹

Erasmus was born at Rotterdam in 1467. His father and mother, Gerhard and Margaret, though united by the bond of a faithful affection, were never united in marriage. The promise of a union which they had made to each other was defeated by the relatives of Gerhard, who drove him away from home by ill treatment, and during his absence drove him into the vows of monasticism by falsely reporting that Margaret was dead. Erasmus was made the victim of a similar

¹ Strauss.

pressure after the death of his parents. His guardian, in order to secure the patrimony of the boy to the Church, spared no pains to force him into the monastic life. This was utterly contrary to the inclinations of Erasmus; but he fell, nevertheless, into the snare, was entrapped into a monastery, and spent several years in its unwelcome confinement. His escape was due to the good offices of the Bishop of Cambray, who took him into his employ, and finally afforded him the much-coveted opportunity of studying at Paris.

Once out of the cloister, Erasmus was soon known to fame. A brilliant career of authorship was begun. Various countries began to seek the honor of having him as a resident. Influential friends in England gave him their aid, and he made several visits to that country (1498-1517). He studied Greek at Oxford, and filled a professorship for a short time at Cambridge. Henry VIII. would gladly have detained him in England; Basle, however, with its excellent facilities for printing, seems to have claimed his preference, and he spent the latter part of his life mainly in that city. The breaking-out of the Reformation somewhat impaired the reputation of Erasmus: yet few men have received more admiration than, on the whole, was lavished upon him. "As many pilgrimages were made to Erasmus during his lifetime as to the shrines of any of those canonized saints whom the Church of Rome has embalmed with her praises."¹

Erasmus may be regarded as the most perfect exponent of humanism which his age supplied. With nerves uncommonly sensitive and finely strung, naturally averse

¹ A. R. Pennington, *Life and Character of Erasmus*.

to every thing harsh and gross, but at the same time dowered with a keen and active mind, an astonishing memory, an unwearied ambition and spirit of industry, and an inexhaustible fund of humor, Erasmus was just fitted to be the master of literary taste, the monarch of the whole field of classic learning which had been opened in the era of the renaissance, and the effective satirist of the follies and corruptions of the times.

Unless we except his wonderful facility of production, his almost extempore mode of composition, we must, no doubt, pronounce the humor of Erasmus the most prominent factor of his genius. "If we would seek, in Erasmus," says R. B. Drummond, "any faculty, not the result of culture, but simply original, we shall find it, no doubt, in his faculty of humor. . . . Erasmus poured out on the vices and superstitions of his day a stream of light pleasantry peculiar to himself, by which he succeeded in making them infinitely ridiculous, without, however, attempting to excite against them the fiercer passions of our nature. . . . If he did not wield the terrors of a Juvenal, he was still farther from exhibiting the fierce disgust with all things human which we observe in Swift. Always he preserved his faith in human nature, nor would he have felt any satisfaction in ridiculing folly and superstition apart from the practical object of correcting them."¹ Coleridge has remarked that it is the merit of the jests of Erasmus that they can all be turned into arguments. Rarely has the weak side of an age received a more vivid and humorous portraiture than appears in the "Praise of Folly." This was first published about 1511, and passed

¹ Erasmus, *His Life and Character*.

through twenty-seven editions in the lifetime of its author. It is a work which may still be read with great pleasure.¹

The contributions of Erasmus to the Reformation were by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, he helped to perfect the instrument of biblical study. In 1516 appeared his Greek Testament, accompanied by a new Latin translation and numerous annotations from his hand. The work may have exhibited marks of immaturity, but on the whole it was a significant advance in the critical study of the Bible. Scholars at all inclined to liberal views received from it an effectual stimulus.

Kindred with this service was the explicit emphasis which Erasmus placed upon the right and duty of all classes to read the Scriptures. Indeed, it would be difficult to find in literature a more fervent appeal for the universal dissemination of the Bible than the following: "The philosophy of Christ accommodates itself equally to all, condescends to the little, lowers itself to their capacity, nourishing them with milk, cherishing and sustaining, till we grow up into Christ. But while it ministers to the lowest, it is entitled to the admiration of the highest. It excludes no age, no sex, no fortune, no condition. The sun itself is not so common and manifest to all as is the doctrine of Christ. Utterly, therefore, do I dissent from those who are unwilling

¹ It was written in England, in the house of Thomas More, after the return of Erasmus from Italy. Only about a week was occupied in its composition, though doubtless the subject-matter had been pretty well thought out previously. Erasmus says More persuaded him to undertake the task, though, he adds with excess of self-depreciation, it was no more in his way than for a camel to dance (Epist. ccccxlviii.).

that the sacred Word should be read by the unlearned, translated into the common speech, just as though the teaching of Christ were so abstruse that it could be understood only by a few theologians, or the safeguard of the Christian religion had been placed in the ignorance of its votaries. It may be advisable to conceal the mysteries of kings; but Christ wishes his mysteries to be published as openly as possible. I would have every poor woman read the gospel, read the Epistles of Paul. I would have these writings translated into all languages, so that they might be read and understood not only by the Scotch and Irish, but by Turks also, and Saracens. I would have the husbandman sing portions of them at the plough-handle, the weaver repeat them in tune with his shuttle, the traveller relieve the tedium of his journey with their narratives.”¹

It was not without its beneficial results, also, that Erasmus laid so much stress upon the practical side of religion, upon the ethical, as opposed to the monastic, the ceremonial, or the theologic ideal. He reprobates the monastic orders for putting Judaic rites in place of Christ, and drawing a dividing line where the truth does not recognize any. “How much more in harmony with the teaching of Christ,” he says, “would it be to regard the whole Christian world as one home, and, as it were, one monastery; to esteem all men as canons and brothers; to count the sacrament of baptism the highest religious vow; to care not where we live, but how well we live!”² With like openness he blames an intemperate refining on speculative points. It is far more disreputable, he says, to be unacquainted with the

¹ *Novum Testamentum, Paraclesis.*

² *Epist. viii., App.*

decrees of Christ than to be ignorant of the definitions of Aristotle and Scotus. "I would rather be a pious theologian with Chrysostom than to be invincible with Scotus." "He is by far the greatest doctor who teaches Christ purely."¹

Another contribution, and among the most notable which Erasmus made to the Reformation, was his penetrating criticism of Romish abuses. With unsparing hand he laid open the whole list of current follies and corruptions: the worldly ambitions and luxury of the popes, the abuse of the confessional, superstitious dependence upon the Virgin and the saints, jugglery with relics, and traffic in indulgences. Nor was it merely in such a work as the "Praise of Folly," where the barb of criticism was partly sheathed in the silken folds of wit and pleasantry, but in writings manifestly serious in their intent, that he exposed the defects and vices of the existing system.²

Yet this same Erasmus disowned the Reformation. It is not improbable, indeed, that he felt a measure of satisfaction at Luther's blast against indulgences. But at the same time he feared the consequences of his

¹ *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ.*

² For instance, in a letter to Colet, in 1518, he gives this free expression to his disgust with papal effrontery, worldliness, and falsehood: "The court of Rome clearly has lost all sense of shame; for what could be more shameless than these continued indulgences? Now a war against the Turks is put forth as a pretext, when the real purpose is to drive the Spaniards from Naples; for Lorenzo, the Pope's nephew, who has married the daughter of the King of Navarre, lays claim to Campania. If these turmoils continue, the rule of the Turks would be easier to bear than that of these Christians" (*Epist. cccv., App.*). As another example, may be cited the unrestrained way in which, in his treatise on the confessional, published in 1524, he exposes the pernicious tendencies of the institution.

impetuous temper. A letter which he wrote to the Reformer in 1519 shows much less desire to encourage than to moderate his zeal.¹ About the same time he took pains to notify high dignitaries — Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop Albert, and Pope Leo — that his name was not in any wise to be associated with the affair of Luther. To Wolsey he wrote, "Luther is an entire stranger to me, nor have I found time to read more than a page or two of his writings. And yet some persons, as I hear, pretend that he has been assisted by my labor. If he has written correctly, no praise is due to me; if otherwise, I am not to be blamed, since in all his productions there is not a line which was contributed by me. The life of the man is universally commended; and it is no small token in his favor, that his conduct is so blameless that even his enemies can find no ground of reproach."² This language represents the maximum of support which Erasmus was willing to accord to Luther. He bespoke for him gentle treatment, opposed the rage of those who would destroy him, and conceded that the crime of his rebellion was palliated by the great provocations which had been given. Later, as the aspect of affairs became more serious, he took a position of open hostility; and in 1524, at the solicitation of the Romish party, he published his opposition to the Reformer by issuing a treatise against his doctrine of the will. Still Erasmus was never ready to strike hands with the zealots of the Roman Catholic party. He felt at heart no kinship with them. While

¹ Epist. ccccxvii.

² *Hominis vita magno omnium consensu probatur: jam id non leve præjudicium est, tantam esse morum integritatem, ut nec hostes repellant, quod calumnientur (Epist. cccxvii.).*

professedly adhering to the old Church, and submitting to its authority, he held in fact a kind of mean position, and thus exposed himself to the criticism of all parties. He describes himself as waging a threefold contest: "with those Roman pagans who are wretchedly jealous of me, with certain theologians and monks who leave no stone unturned that they may destroy me, with some rabid Lutherans who rave against me because I alone, as they say, delay their triumph."¹

That Erasmus should have held aloof from the Reformation, is no great mystery. It was not merely a prudent regard for his own personal interests, which kept him from making common cause with Luther. As the leading humanist of the day, he felt jealous for the cause of literature. He regarded the commotions excited by Luther as tending to throw that cause into the shade. In 1521 we find him writing to a friend, "Luther is bringing the greatest odium both upon me and upon liberal studies."² A number of similar expressions indicate that he was unwilling to sacrifice literature on the altar of a movement respecting whose outcome he entertained a very doubtful opinion. Again, he was theologically out of affinity with Luther. Somewhat rationalizing in temper, more at home in the ethical than in the strictly religious domain, he was ill prepared to appreciate a mystical type of piety. He approached theology from a different standpoint from that of Luther. The great shibboleth of the latter was largely foreign to his conception. In place of justification by faith, as taught by the Reformer, he preferred to insist that the way to salvation lies in the strenuous

¹ Epist. dxcviii.

² Epist. dlxvi.

imitation of the graces of Christ. In general, the strong Augustinianism which had such a conspicuous place in Luther's thought, especially at the beginning of his career, was distasteful to Erasmus. Luther, on his side, was very quick to perceive that the theological trend of the literary potentate was diverse from his own. As early as 1516 he is said to have called the attention of Spalatin to the fact that Erasmus was at fault in allowing too little scope to inward grace, and overlooking the necessity of changing the person before the works could be truly reformed.¹

But though there were dogmatic grounds for standing aloof from the Reformation, Erasmus was plainly influenced too much by caution and self-regard, and too little by Christian heroism. As his own words abundantly indicate, his interest in his own reputation and his pleasure in the patronage of the great lay very near to his interest in the truth.² One can hardly refrain from thinking that if his gaze had been less upon the former, he would have found less of an obstacle in the latter to espousing openly the cause of evangelical reform. He lacked the self-abandon demanded by the crisis, and leaned to that inferior worldly wisdom which finds in expediency a chief rule of conduct. On one occasion he wrote to a friend engaged in legal affairs,

¹ Seckendorf, *Comm. de Lutheran.*, Lib. I. sect. 8; *Epist.* xxii., in De Wette's edition.

² A letter of his to Polydore Virgil in the year 1527 may serve as an illustration. "I am," he writes, "in very happy relations with the great. Clement VII. has already given me two hundred florins, and promises me all things. The Emperor and his chancellor have lately written to me in the most friendly terms. I have drawers full of letters, most deferentially worded, from kings, cardinals, dukes, and bishops. From many of them I receive presents of no ordinary value" (*Epist.* dcccliv.).

respecting his relation to the Reformation party, as follows: "I beseech you to abstain from all connection with the sectaries. Even if you assent to any of their dogmas, dissemble. Nevertheless, I would not have you contend against them. A lawyer does well to finesse with these people as the dying man did with the devil. The devil asked, What do you believe? The man replied, What the Church believes. The devil demanded, What does the Church believe? What I believe, was the answer. And what do you believe? What the Church believes. What does the Church believe? What I believe."¹ No doubt a strain like this may be imputed in part to the humor of Erasmus, — his fondness for a piquant turn in discourse. Still, after all allowance is made, it is a poor token of single-minded devotion.

We are not, however, to be too ready with censure. Erasmus had already passed the meridian of life when the Reformation broke out, and old age is naturally conservative. Moreover, in what he had previously done he had accomplished the work for which he was best fitted. His mission was to lead up to the Reformation. So Luther described it in a letter to *Æcolampadius* in 1523: "Probably, like Moses, he will die in the land of Moab. He has done enough in unveiling the evil. But to show the good and to lead into the land of promise, is not his work, as it appears to me."²

¹ *Epist. cccxxiv.*, App., *Vigileo Zuichemo*, anno 1523.

² *Epist. dv.*, De Wette's edition.

CHAPTER II.

THE EMPIRE AT THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION.

THE subject of the chapter will not direct our attention much beyond the bounds of Germany. The theoretical fiction, indeed, which assigned to the Emperor the proud position of heir to the dominion of the Cæsars, was not extinct. A token of the thought that the imperial office had relation at least to the whole of Latin Christendom appears in the fact that, on the death of Maximilian I. in 1519, the King of France and the King of England were each mentioned as possible incumbents, and the claims of the former were seriously urged. This, however, was a mere episode. France, England, and Spain were no part of the empire, save in the mind of the political idealist. Italy, though connected by a much closer bond of historical association, had become essentially foreign territory. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, France and Spain had more influence in Italy than the empire.

In its internal arrangements the empire was a scene of the greatest complexity. The relation of the different factors to each other involved no little ambiguity. Scarcely any rank or party was satisfied with its position, and turmoils were of frequent occurrence.

Early in the reign of Maximilian, who came to the

throne in 1493, an earnest attempt was made to secure better safeguards for public order. The Diet, which was the great instrument for settling affairs of common concern, brought forward at its session in Worms, in 1495, a new plan for the administration of the empire. An important feature was the provision for an Imperial Chamber, to which disputes between the different states might be referred, as well as appeals in private causes. The judges in this tribunal were to be appointed with the consent of the Diet. Some years later, to give greater effectiveness to the new institute, the empire was divided into a number of districts, each of which had its council and was charged with responsibility for securing the execution of the sentences of the Imperial Chamber. Though the Emperor stipulated for the inviolability of his prerogatives, the provision carried out in good faith could not work otherwise than as a limitation of imperial sovereignty. Respecting the plan as a whole, which was agreed upon at this Diet, Ranke remarks, "It was a mixture of monarchy and confederacy, in which, however, the latter element had the preponderance."¹

Though his reign was successful beyond the average, Maximilian, sharing in the common experience of a long line of predecessors, found it difficult to bring his actual power into any true correspondence with the imperial name. A Venetian ambassador who was in Germany in 1502 expressed his astonishment at the small respect which was shown the Emperor, and represented Maximilian as declaring for himself, that he wished that he were merely Duke of Austria, for then he would receive

¹ *Deutsche Geschichte in Zeitalter der Reformation*, I. 78.

some consideration, whereas in his character as Roman king he experienced only abuse.¹ This was, no doubt, strongly put, and represented a season of special depression; but taken in connection with a man like Maximilian, whose personal traits were well suited to win popularity, it may serve to indicate that a German emperor, under the existing conditions, had to pay a fair price for his honor.

The princes, on their part, considered that they had just grounds of complaint. They were displeased with the indifferent regard which the Emperor paid to the reforms of 1495. In particular, they took umbrage at his undisguised ambition to build up the house of Hapsburg and make Austria a leading power in Europe. They were unwilling that talents and resources, which the imperial office seemed to pledge to the common good, should thus be expended upon a private interest.

Their opposition, however, was not sufficient to thwart the designs of Maximilian in this direction. His reign laid a foundation for the ascendancy of the house of Hapsburg. An alliance with Spain was a special means of promotion. Through the marriage of his son Philip with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, it was brought about that a scion of his house was elevated to a more extended rule than had been grasped by any European sovereign since the days of Charlemagne. Charles V., the son of Philip, was heir on the Spanish side to the kingdom of Spain, to Sicily and Naples, to the new acquisitions of Spain on the American continent, while on the German side he had title to the Austrian dominions and to Burgundy

¹ Ranke, I. 98.

(Franche-Comté and the Netherlands). To this was added in 1519, through the unanimous vote of the electors,¹ the imperial dignity.

It might be supposed that Charles V., with such a range of power back of him, would have been in a condition to lay hold upon the affairs of Germany with superior vigor. It is to be noticed, however, that the available resources of Charles were by no means equal to the extent of territory which lay under his sceptre. His dominions were as scattered and heterogeneous as they were immense. Their extent and the variety of their demands limited the attention which he could devote to the internal affairs of Germany. Moreover, the power of the neighboring King of France, a power more concentrated and available, if less extensive, than his own, reminded him that in dealing with the states of Germany he must not despise the arts of conciliation. We find him, accordingly, at the first Diet held under his auspices, that of Worms in 1521, showing a good degree of compliance with the wishes of the princes for the confirmation and perfecting of constitutional provisions which had been brought forward in Maximilian's reign.

What has been said may serve to illustrate the position of the Emperor, and his relations with the higher dignitaries of the realm. The status of the latter, it

¹ Of the seven princes who composed the Electoral College, three belonged to the ecclesiastical rank; namely, the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne. The remaining four were the Duke (or King) of Bohemia, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Count of the Palatinate of the Rhine, and the Elector of Saxony. The Saxon electorate, it should be noticed, comprised at this time only a part of Saxony, the dukedom having been divided in 1485.

would seem, was in the way of improvement. Within their respective domains they were making advances toward a larger and better-defined authority.

But there were classes in the empire who were far from being satisfied with their position and prospects. The nobles looked jealously upon the modern movement toward concentration of power in the hands of the princes. They saw themselves thrust aside, without voice in the Diet, and continually declining from the importance which they had enjoyed under the old feudal system. To this restlessness on political grounds was added the stimulus of the great religious agitation which had been started in Germany. At length the disquiet broke out into a species of revolutionary effort. Franz von Sickingen, who was seconded by Hutten, determined to make a bold stroke for the nobility and for ecclesiastical reform. Being a soldier of reputation, and possessing unusual talents for exciting personal enthusiasm, he rallied to his standard the nobles of the Upper Rhine, and proceeded to attack the Archbishop of Treves. But Sickingen had miscalculated the strength with which he had to contend. He was speedily driven to act on the defensive, and fell mortally wounded in his castle (1523). With him fell the hope of the nobility to regain the old measure of power and independence.

The peasantry was quite as much dissatisfied as the nobility, and with much better reason. The latter deserved to be curbed in view of the inexcusable lawlessness which they had frequently indulged. But the peasants were the victims of a grievous oppression. The safeguards which were being introduced in behalf

of other classes had little or no relation to them. To whom could they look for protection? "To no one. These half-human beings had no rights, and in the current view were entitled to none. They were dependent solely upon the grace and compassion of their masters."¹ Their estate ranged from actual serfdom to a lot not many degrees better. "Even in Swabia, and the countries on the banks of the Rhine, where their condition was most tolerable, the peasants not only paid the full rent of their farms to their landlord, but if they chose either to change the place of their abode, or to follow a new profession, before they could accomplish what they desired they were obliged to purchase this privilege at a certain price. Besides this, all grants of lands to peasants expired at their death, without descending to their posterity. Upon that event, the landlord had a right to the best of their cattle, as well as of their furniture; and their heirs, in order to obtain a renewal of the grant, were obliged to pay large sums by way of fine."² These were customary burdens, and as such were borne with some degree of patience, though not with entire cheerfulness or absence of protest. But in the time of Frederic III. and Maximilian I., new burdens were added. More expensive habits of living began to prevail among princes, nobles, and ecclesiastics. The change in the mode of warfare, which substituted paid troops for feudal retainers, created an enlarged demand for revenue. The consequence was that the peasants, as the most helpless class, were plied with new exactions.

¹ G. Sartorius, *Versuch einer Geschichte des deutschen Bauernkriegs*.

² W. Robertson, *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V.*

What wonder that an outbreak should have occurred? Since the middle of the fifteenth century, the discontent of the peasants had issued in a number of eruptions, some of which were of considerable extent.¹ How, then, could it be expected that this exasperated element would remain quiet when all minds were being stirred by the excitements of the age? The responsible cause of the uprising of the peasants was the oppressions under which they groaned. The Reformation was but the occasion. As the herald of a new era, it could not fail to give hope and courage to the oppressed multitude, whether or not it made any direct connection with their cause.

The peasant revolt commenced the next year after the abortive attempt of the nobles under Sickingen. The two movements were independent of each other, as the two classes were unconnected in sympathy. "Each class," says Häusser, "went its own way, and perished alone, — the nobles like an army of officers without soldiers, the peasants like soldiers without officers. Had they united their forces, they would have formed a lever which would have produced a tremendous commotion. These two elements afterwards combined to upset the ancient monarchy of France."²

The cause of the peasantry was not a little affected by their alliance with the Anabaptist enthusiasts. It will be convenient, therefore, to postpone the further consideration of the subject, till we have brought the story of the Reformation up to the eve of the attempted revolution.

¹ Menzel, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, II. 226-229.

² *Period of the Reformation*, translated from the German by Mrs. G. Sturge.

If there was less cause of ferment in the cities than among the nobles and the peasants, they still had their own occasions of agitation. Constant watchfulness and energy were required to guard their privileges against the encroachments of princes and nobles. In not a few of them, moreover, there was an interior conflict, — a struggle between aristocratic and democratic elements. Some of the cities, especially in Southern Germany, were suffering from a decline of industry. This naturally bred discontent among the poorer citizens. It is probable that a fraction of this class, impelled at once by their unpromising state and their feeling of exasperation toward the clergy, who seemed to care more for pleasures and emoluments than for pastoral service, were not disposed to frown altogether upon the revolutionary effort of the peasants.

A brief reference to the relations of the German Government and people with the Roman Court may properly conclude the chapter. Maximilian evidently cherished no great affection for the popes. It was with ill-concealed disgust that he looked upon their expedients for draining away the gold of the realm. He complained that they took from his subjects a hundred times as much as found its way into the imperial coffers.¹ At times also he had occasion for displeasure, because special projects of his were opposed at Rome. This may explain the passive attitude which he assumed toward the first stages of the Reformation. He is even said to have felt a malicious satisfaction in what was transpiring at Wittenberg, and to have advised the Elector Frederic to take good care of the bold monk,

¹ Ranke, I. 37.

as he might be serviceable at some future time. All this, however, was dictated merely by his political interest. In his last days the same interest moved him to seek a good understanding with the Pope, inasmuch as his friendship was thought to be necessary to realize the ambitions which he entertained for his house.

As for Charles V., there is no reason to doubt that he was sincerely interested to maintain the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. From first to last he was a stranger to the great religious revolution. He had little conception of its significance, and it took not the slightest hold upon his heart. But while Charles V. looked upon contemporary events with the eyes of a Roman Catholic, he looked upon them also with the eyes of a politician, and had very little inclination to sacrifice any political interest out of consideration for the Pope. In fact, there were times in his reign, when the Pope, as acting the part of a political adversary, received very scant honor at his hands.

Among the secular princes of Germany there was a general feeling of ill-will toward the Roman court; and this feeling descended to all classes of the laity. Even those who had no thought of theological reform were loud in their complaints of ecclesiastical abuses.

Resentment against Rome and the hierarchy was by no means equivalent to love for the evangelical message. Yet the one, as disabusing the mind of a blind allegiance, prepared for the reception of the other.

Among the noblest of those in high station who turned an inquiring and receptive mind toward the teachings of the Reformers, was the Saxon Elector Frederic. The esteem in which he was held is evinced

by the fact that, had he so chosen, he might have succeeded Maximilian in the imperial dignity. He prudently declined the honor, in the conviction that the exigencies of the times called for one who could bring to the sceptre a stronger hand and greater resources. In his relations to the Reformation, while he proceeded cautiously, he comported himself as a true friend of the movement, and rendered it an invaluable service.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY AND THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.

I.—LUTHER TILL THE LEIPZIG DISPUTATION.

THE Reformation exhibits a remarkable combination of culture with popular elements. The leaders were learned men, but, at the same time, from the people, and well able to sympathize with their needs and modes of thought. Melanchthon came from the shop of an armorer, Zwingli from the hut of an Alpine shepherd, Luther from a miner's cottage.

Luther was born in 1483 at Eisleben. Mansfeldt, however, seemed to him more like a native town, since his parents, John and Margaret, moved thither before he was six months old. His home education was after a virtuous but stringent pattern. His father was positive in his convictions, and accepted fully the current ideas about the use of the rod.

In his fourteenth year, Luther was sent to the Franciscan school at Magdeburg. Owing, perhaps, to the difficulty of supporting himself here, he soon went to Eisenach, where he had relatives. The hope of assistance from these appears not to have been realized; and poverty compelled him, with others, to sing from door to door for his bread. At length the wife of Conrad

Cotta fulfilled the part of the good Shunammite, and Luther found a comfortable home for the remainder of his four-years stay.

In his eighteenth year, Luther proceeded to the University of Erfurt. The choice of this university was dictated by its moderate distance from the family seat, and still more by its reputation at that time in the learned world. It is said to have quite outshone the other universities of Germany, insomuch that it became a current saying, that he who would rightly study must turn his steps toward Erfurt.

The course of study to which Luther was introduced at the university was very largely such as had been embraced in the old scholastic curriculum. The special type of scholasticism which prevailed was the nominalistic system to which the German teachers had been inclined since the days of Occam. But scholasticism did not command the entire field. A few years before the arrival of Luther, humanism had found its exponents at Erfurt, and lectures on the classics had become a part of the instruction. At this date there was no open hostility between the old and the new learning; each rendered to the other tokens of cordial respect. It was not till after Luther's student days, that the natural bent of humanism to a disparaging estimate of scholastic studies began to make itself manifest at Erfurt. Luther, while he gave the greater share of his attention to the scholastic branches, — to logic, dialectics, physics, and rhetoric, — did not neglect the opportunity to acquaint himself with the Latin classics. Throughout his course he addressed himself with interest and fidelity to his studies; and we find him advan-

cing from a medium rank to a place among the foremost. In 1505 he took the degree of master of arts, the degree of bachelor having been taken three years previously. He now stood in excellent repute at the university, and those best acquainted with his talents prophesied for him an eminent career. The wish of his father had directed him to the profession of the law. Luther himself, in all probability, entertained some eager hopes respecting the course of honor reaching on before him.

But suddenly he turns away from his opening prospects, and buries himself in the Augustinian cloister at Erfurt. His friends use every persuasion to induce him to change his decision, but to no purpose. Fresh from the honors of the university, he carries the sack about the streets of Erfurt, and begs bread for his brotherhood. The explanation most ready to hand is the deep religious impression made upon his mind by the sudden death of his bosom friend Alexis, and by his own narrow escape from death by lightning. But those who believe in the Reformation will claim a deeper explanation, and will say that Divine Providence sent Luther through the legal, monastic *régime* of the cloister, that he might be the more perfectly prepared to serve as the evangelical reformer; that he needed the Pauline experience of enslavement to law, in order to become the herald of the Pauline doctrine of grace.

The same earnestness of purpose which sent Luther into the cloister made him unsparing of himself in the ascetic life. He was too honest to apply any hypocritical salve to his conscience. He knew his need of personal salvation, and would not rest without some satis-

factory assurance. No item in the round of cloistral duties was neglected by him. He kept the vigils faithfully; prayed unremittingly; persecuted his body without pity, sometimes abstaining from food for three days together. But the more he struggled, the deeper he sank toward despair. Even his diligent reading of the Bible, with which he first made acquaintance in the cloister,¹ seems to have afforded but scanty relief. His mind was so occupied with the image of law and judgment, that he could gain no effectual vision of the Divine compassion. In the crucified Redeemer he saw rather a testimonial to his own guilt than a pledge of mercy; and the sight, as he says, smote through him like a terrifying flash. The anguish of his soul at times was terrible, and his body well-nigh sank under the double pressure of his extreme abstinence and his mental torture.

Having had sufficient experience of the bitterness and impotence of the legal method of salvation, Luther at length was directed to the method of Divine grace. The words of an aged monk, urging upon him the duty of hoping in the Divine forgiveness, afforded not a little comfort.² Of still greater avail were the wise and friendly counsels of Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustines in Germany. He was a man whose own experience had led him into the secrets of grace. He lacked, indeed, the courage to attempt a thorough evangelical reform of the Church, but he had no mean understanding of evangelical principles. If he refused, afterwards,

¹ He was twenty years old before he saw a complete Bible. While at the university, he chanced upon a copy, and glanced over its pages.

² Luther thankfully records this service in his *Tischreden*, 1135, *Deutsche Schriften*, Frankfurt a. M. und Erlangen, 1854.

to follow Luther to the end of his reformatory work, it was not because the idea of justification by faith did not commend itself to his mind and heart. Finding Luther exhausted and well-nigh hopeless, Staupitz endeavored to direct his attention away from self and toward Christ, and exhorted him to cease from his self-torture, and to cast himself into the arms of the Redeemer. This greatly helped the care-worn and despairing ascetic. He began to see the loving-kindness of God in Jesus Christ, and the gospel became to him in truth a message of glad tidings.

Luther was now essentially converted in heart, but he was far from being thoroughly converted in head. New experiences must come, and fierce storms of opposition must break upon him, before the deeply rooted superstitions of the Romish system can be eradicated from his mind.

It would appear that Luther's spiritual struggles in the cloister did not prevent an industrious application to study. He gained here, in fact, a minute knowledge of the scholastic theology, especially as embodied in the works of the distinguished champions of nominalism. He became well versed in the writings of Occam, Biel, Peter d'Ailly, and John Gerson. Melancthon reports that he could repeat Biel almost word for word. He also read considerably in Bonaventura, either at this time, or shortly after leaving the Erfurt cloister. With Augustine, who afterwards completely overshadowed in his estimate the scholastic authors, he made as yet only a partial acquaintance.¹

¹ Such is the conclusion of Köstlin, *Martin Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften*.

Luther thus won in the cloister a reputation for learning, as well as for religious earnestness. Even opponents have taken pains to say as much. Maimbourg and others have confessed that he fairly earned the distinction of being an eminently gifted and learned man.¹ It was but natural, therefore, that those in quest of a competent teacher should direct their attention to this diligent and scholarly monk. So Luther, after spending three years in the cloister, was summoned to the University of Wittenberg, which had been founded shortly before by the Elector Frederic. The call came in 1508, through the recommendation of Staupitz, who understood better than any other contemporary the material that was in Luther. Wittenberg was henceforth the home of Luther, as it was the throne of the German Reformation.²

In reviewing the nine years which intervened between the call to Wittenberg and the inauguration of Luther's public conflict, we may properly notice his professional duties at the university, his preaching, the engagements which he undertook in behalf of his order, and the line of private study which was especially efficient in shaping his theological thinking.

Luther's department of instruction was at first the philosophical, in which it was his task to lecture upon the physics and dialectics of Aristotle. It would appear that this assignment of work was not altogether to his mind. In 1509 he wrote to his friend Braun, "If you desire to know my state, I am well, by the grace of

¹ *Histoire du Lutheranisme*, Liv. 1.

² It would appear, however, that a year or two after going to Wittenberg, Luther was transferred for a brief interval to the University of Erfurt.

God, except that the study is hard, more especially in philosophy, which I would most gladly exchange from the start for theology,—for that theology, I mean, which is the kernel of the nut, the core of the wheat, and the marrow of the bones.” He admonishes himself, however, to cultivate patience, since he adds, “But God is God; man often, yea perpetually, errs in judgment. He is our God, and will direct us in kindness forever.”¹ It was upwards of three years after this letter was written, when Luther was awarded the more congenial office to which he refers. Toward the end of the year 1512 he received the degree of doctor of divinity, and shortly thereafter began to lecture on the Bible.

Alongside the duties of the professor went those of the preacher. Beginning with great diffidence and reluctance, first in the cloister, and then in the city church, Luther found a growing confidence and joy in the opportunities of the pulpit. Ere long, large audiences paid him the tribute of eager attention. That he possessed, in no small degree, the inborn traits of the orator, is indicated by the descriptions of opponents no less than by the testimony of friends. “Endowed,” says Florimond de Raemond, “with a ready and lively genius, with a good memory, and employing his mother tongue with wonderful facility, speaking from the pulpit as if he were agitated by some violent emotion, suiting the action to his words, he affected his hearers’ minds in a surprising manner, and carried them like a torrent wherever he pleased. So much strength, grace, and eloquence are rarely found in these children of the North.”² Says Bossuet: “He had a lively and

¹ Epist. II.

² Quoted by D'Aubigné, Bk. II. chap. v.

impetuous eloquence that charmed and led away the people."¹

In 1510 or 1511, Luther was sent on the affairs of his order to Rome. This was a welcome mission. To see the central seat of Christendom was an ardent desire of his heart. As he came in sight of the city he fell on his knees, and exclaimed, "Hail, holy Rome!" But he found any thing but a holy city. The worldly, ambitious, warlike Julius II. was upon the papal throne, — a man so absorbed in his temporal projects, that he is said to have reviled God as a patron of Frenchmen, when he heard of the victory of the French over his own troops.² Some of the priests in Rome carried religious indifference to the point of levity and mockery. As Luther was celebrating mass on one occasion, the priests at a neighboring altar, who had rattled through the ceremonial post-haste, ridiculed him for his devout slowness. "Haste! haste!" said they, "send our Lady back her Son." On another occasion, as he sat at table, he heard some persons, connected with the Roman court, reciting, with an emphatic display of merriment, the outrageous trick which certain priests had played upon the people. Instead of using the ordinary words for the consecration of the elements, they had repeated this mockery of the mystery which every Roman Catholic is taught to connect with the eucharist: *panis es, et panis manebis; vinum es, et vinum manebis*. All these things had their effect upon Luther. If they did not arouse him at once to an attack, they remained in his memory as materials for future thunderbolts.

¹ Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes, I. § 6.

² Luther, Tischreden, 1631.

It was during this visit that Luther is said to have attempted the ascent of Pilate's Staircase on his knees, and to have deserted the half-finished task as the words of Holy Writ, "The just shall live by faith," came with overwhelming force to his mind.¹ The incident, however, bespeaks a sudden inspiration on the part of Luther, rather than a thorough and intelligent grasp of the scriptural maxim. Certainly his zealous improvement of his opportunity to perform mass, his wish, according to his own confession, that his parents were dead and in purgatory, that he might purchase their release by this means, does not indicate an understanding of the full bearings of the doctrine of justification by faith. The dawning light needed a little more time to reach the brightness of the full day. The real sentiments of Luther, on his departure from Rome, are probably expressed with entire correctness by the words of Dorner: "Luther returned home with his enthusiasm for Rome cooled down, still without being conscious to himself of inward disaffection toward her, or of departure from the ways of the Church."

A second engagement of Luther in behalf of his order, if less fruitful than the foregoing, was still in the line of preparation for his future work. In 1516, as vicar under Staupitz, he undertook a visitation of the Augustinian cloisters in the neighboring districts of Germany. The fulfilment of this task gave him a larger insight into the state of the monasteries than his previous experience had afforded, and also made him acquainted with men who afterwards supported his movement.

¹ Luther's son Paul reported the event as having been narrated by his father.

The Augustines supplied no mean contingent to the cause of the Reformation.

While his lectures in the university, and his addresses from the pulpit, gave Luther occasion for a diligent study of the Scriptures, he was at the same time an industrious student of Augustine. The writings of the illustrious father were food to his mind, as providing the same solution for spiritual struggles which his own experience had approved, and rendering exalted tribute to Divine grace. He found great enjoyment also in the writings of Tauler. In 1516 he made mention of them in terms of warm commendation.¹ About the same time, he expressed a kindred appreciation for that product of fourteenth-century mysticism which bears the name of the "German theology." What attracted Luther both in Tauler, and in the *theologia Germanica*, was the pervasive tone of heart piety, the stress upon the central demands of spiritual life, the inward life of faith and Divine communion. Of their speculative views, which run so dangerously near to the verge of the Neo-Platonic pantheism, he probably took no special note. Certainly he had no affinity with such views. A metaphysical union with Deity which obscures the distinctness of human personality, or stands in the way of a thoroughly ethical relation with God, was no part of Luther's system of thought. Fanciful schemes of mysticism had no place in his appreciation. He learned to regard even Bonaventura's method for the consummation of Divine union as artificial and profitless.²

Distinct indications that Luther improved the tuition of these years to strengthen and to clarify the

¹ Epist. xxv.

² Tischreden, 8.

elements of evangelical faith in his mind, are not wanting. Letters written in 1516 and 1517 show a radical dissatisfaction with Aristotle and the scholastics, and a strong inclination to a more biblical type of theology.¹ In very explicit terms he declares, at this time, the futility of mere legal efforts at personal reformation. Writing to a brother of his order, he says, "In our age the temptation to presumption is kindled in many, and in those especially who strive with all their powers to be righteous and good; ignorant of the righteousness of God, which in Christ is given to us most bountifully and gratuitously, they seek to perfect themselves in right-doing, until at length they shall have confidence to stand in the presence of God, clad, as it were, in the ornaments of their virtues and merits,—a thing which is impossible."² Again, in connection with a criticism of Erasmus, already cited, he writes, "Not as Aristotle thinks, are we made righteous by doing righteous acts, except in mere semblance; but as a result of becoming and being righteous, we do righteous acts. First the person must be changed, then the works. First Abel is acceptable, then his offerings."³

In a mind less honest and resolute than that of Luther, these evangelical sentiments would not necessarily have occasioned any collision with the existing ecclesiastical system. Luther himself held them without thought of such a collision. While he was free to declare that the clergy were guilty of a shameful and ruinous neglect as respects bringing the Word of God

¹ Epist. viii., xxxiv., Johanni Lango.

² Epist. ix., Georgio Spenlein.

³ Epist. xxi.

to the people, he had no notion of thrusting himself forward in a work of general reform. It was not till his own domain was invaded, that he raised his voice in a protest which in any wise seriously challenged the traditions and customs of the Church.

The source and nature of this invasion are well known. For several centuries, especially since the inauguration of the crusades, the trade in indulgences had been practised on a large scale. Popes in need of money used this as an efficient device for filling their coffers. Leo X. claimed that money was needed for an enterprise which ought to enlist the sympathies of Christendom, the building of the great Cathedral of St. Peter's. An appeal was accordingly sent out in the shape of a great stock of indulgences, the buying of which might at once benefit the soul of the purchaser and the Pope's treasury. The enterprise in itself was one to which the loyal sons of the Church could readily award a friendly interest. But there were causes for doubt, even apart from the debauching effect of the special method of soliciting contributions which was chosen. Many suspected that the proceeds of the indulgences, instead of being devoted to the honor of God or of St. Peter, would go to the Pope's house, and be employed for the worldly promotion of his own family; and, undoubtedly, there were adequate grounds for their apprehensions.¹ Hence, states which

¹ There may be no definite proof that the receipts from indulgences were thus diverted; but it is established that the tithes which the Lateran Council, in March, 1517, authorized the Pope to collect for the purpose of making war against the Turks, were treated as private funds. Says Ranke, "There lies before us a receipt from Lorenzo, the Pope's nephew, for a hundred thousand *lire*, made out to the King

were in a condition to do so, opposed the papal scheme for lightening the purses of their people. Among those least prepared to make resistance was Germany, owing to her political complexity, and the need which the Emperor felt at that time of keeping on good terms with the Pope. Preparations were thus made for a large harvest. For the more perfect execution of the indulgence project, Germany (with Switzerland included) was divided into three districts. Over one of these presided the Elector Albert, archbishop of Mayence, who had a special interest in the sale of the Pope's merchandise, since he expected to use one-half of the proceeds in making up the sum of thirty thousand gulden, which, in virtue of the scheme of pontifical robbery then in vogue, he owed the Pope for his pallium. In the service of Albert was the Dominican John Tetzel, from Leipzig, — a man of scandalous life, but famous for some time as a successful vender of indulgence wares.

This Tetzel drove his trade after a wonderful manner. Some reports of his harangues will give the best idea of his method.

"Reflect, then," said he, "that for every mortal sin you must, after confession and contrition, do penance for seven years, either in this life or in purgatory; now, how many mortal sins are there not committed in a day, how many in a week, how many in a month, how many

of France. Therein it is expressly stipulated that the sum should be made good to the King out of the tithes which the council had conceded to the Pope for a campaign against the Turks. That was just the same as though the Pope had given the money to his nephew; yea, it may be regarded as even worse: he gave it to him before it had been acquired." (*Zeitalter der Reformation*, I. 205.)

in a year, how many in a whole life! These sins are almost infinite, and they entail an infinite penalty in the fires of purgatory. And now, by means of these letters of indulgence, you can once in your life, in every case except four, which are reserved for the Apostolic See, have full remission of all penalties thus far due, and like remission at any later point in your life, when you are pleased to confess, and afterwards, in the article of death, plenary indulgence for all penalties and sins.”¹

“Why stand ye idle? Do you not hear the voice of your parents and other departed friends calling to you, and saying, ‘Take pity upon us! We are suffering horrible punishments and torments, from which you can deliver us by a trifling alms, and you will not’”?²

“At the very instant that the money rattles at the bottom of the chest, the soul is liberated from purgatory, and flies to heaven.”³

“O hard and careless people! With twelve groats you can deliver a father from purgatory, and you are ungrateful enough not to save him! I declare to you, though you should have but a single coat, you ought to strip it off and sell it, in order to obtain so great a grace.”⁴

Thus Tetzel made out that money is well-nigh omnipotent to remove every dreaded consequence of sin, whether in this life or in that to come. To be sure, for personal sins of the purchasers, confession and contrition

¹ Löscher, *Reformations-Acta*, i. 418, 419.

² *Ibid.*, i. 416, 447.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 397, 421.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 420, 421; Chemnitz, *Examen Decret. Concil. Trid.*, Pars iv., chap. xvii.

were expected in addition to the payment of money. But what weight would be given to these demands by the deluded people, when the indulgence-hawkers were proclaiming that a few groats were able to secure an open way to heaven? And aside from the pardon of personal sins, the blessings held forth were made purely a matter of merchandise. Three of the graces sold in behalf of St. Peter's were to be enjoyed upon the simple condition of paying the stipulated price. These graces were: (1) the privilege, confirmed by a written certificate, of choosing a confessor according to one's preference, who should absolve from sins and penalties, and allow any vows which had been undertaken to be exchanged for other forms of good works; (2) participation in the treasures of the universal Church, in its prayers, pilgrimages, and various orders of meritorious works; (3) release of souls in purgatory.

Tetzel even went so far as to grant indulgences for sins that had not yet been committed. A Saxon nobleman took advantage of this, fell upon the train of Tetzel, and carried off his money-box. Tetzel made a loud outcry. The nobleman was brought to trial, but, upon showing his indulgence paper, was declared acquitted by Duke George.

In 1517 Tetzel came into the neighborhood of Wittenberg. Luther found that the consciences of many of his flock were being debauched. When coming to the confessional, instead of expressing any repentance for their sins or any purpose of amendment, they simply showed their indulgence papers, and expected absolution in their virtue. Luther was greatly stirred at this mockery of the claims of true repentance. The result

was the ninety-five theses whose publication may be regarded as the beginning of the Reformation. These were posted on the door of the church in Wittenberg, Oct. 31, 1517.

The following were the most important of the teachings contained in the theses: Genuine repentance is the chief condition of the remission of sins. This repentance should express itself in outward works. The works acceptable to God are works of charity, benevolence, and righteous living; whoever neglects these, and depends upon the purchase of indulgences, incurs the Divine anger. The purchase of indulgences is purely a matter of free choice, and ranks at best as only an inferior kind of good work. Without the use of these means, the Christian who truly repents may enjoy a full remission, both of the penalty and of the guilt of sin. The hope that the mere buying of indulgences can secure one's own salvation, or the release of souls from purgatory, is an empty and lying hope. Even a Pope cannot remit any condemnation. He is only authorized to declare and confirm the remission of God, except where he acts as ecclesiastical magistrate, and pardons the violation of Church laws, just as a civil ruler may pardon the violation of civil laws. But the Church ought to impose penance only on the living, and in this matter have no regard to the dead; from which it would follow, that the pardoning power of the Popes ought not to be asserted with respect to the dead. The indulgences of the Pope should be treated with respect, but the people should be taught not to place any false confidence in them. The Pope himself has no thought of putting them on a level with works of mercy, and

he would rather that St. Peter's should be reduced to ashes than be built up by such extortions as are practised by the preachers of indulgences.

In publishing these propositions, Luther considered that he was defending, not attacking, the Roman Catholic faith. While he may have had some misgivings respecting the disposition of the Pope, he felt that he was really standing up for his dignity, against those who, by their practices, were dishonoring him. But he had gone farther than he was aware. In emphasizing the adequacy of genuine repentance to secure remission, in affirming that the papal office in connection with the pardon of sins is simply declarative, he was, in reality, dealing a blow at the corner-stone of priestly mediation as arrogated by the Romish hierarchy.

The theses were too acceptable to the wide-spread disgust at the abuse of indulgences, not to find rapid circulation. Within a month they had been spread over the greater part of Christendom. Among opposers, murmurs against stirring up strife were more frequent than attempts at refutation. Nevertheless, some attempts of the kind were made. The general cast of these was such as could only aggravate the spirit of opposition in Luther. They were mere echoes of the scholastic theology in its most commercial and papistical aspects. This was decidedly the character of the theses which Tetzel, or his ally Conrad Wimpina under the name of Tetzel,¹ put forth as a counterpoise to the pregnant sentences of Luther. Some of the most obnoxious features

¹ Luther says respecting the authorship, Dr. Conradus Wimpina ab omnibus clamatur autor illarum positionum: et certum habeo ita esse (Epist. lviij.).

in the whole plague of indulgences are baldly asserted in these theses, while the Pope is exalted as an irresponsible autocrat. "Christians should be taught," it is said, "that in governing right the Pope is superior to the whole Church and the council, and that his statutes should be humbly obeyed. Christians should be taught that the Pope alone has the right of deciding questions of faith; that he alone, and no one beside him, has authority to interpret the Holy Scriptures according to his own views, and to approve or to condemn all the sayings and works of other men."¹ Another reply, savoring quite as little of discretion or moderation, came from the Dominican Sylvester Prierias in Rome, a man who had previously given signal proof of his disposition by throwing the weight of his protest against the acquittal of Reuchlin. In connection with the subject of indulgences, he attacked the very thesis of Luther which it might be supposed that any one interested in the honor of the Church would gladly have left unchallenged. "The preacher," he says, "who teaches that a soul detained in purgatory escapes on the instant in which that is accomplished, in virtue of which full grace is given, let that thing be, if you please, the casting of gold into the dish (of the indulgence-hawker), preaches not a human fiction, but a pure Catholic truth." Respecting the Pope, he takes the ground that he is virtually the whole Church, and adds this declaration: "Whoever does not rest on the doctrine of the Roman Church and the Roman Pontiff, as the infallible rule of faith from which even Holy Scripture derives its strength and authority, is a heretic."² It may inspire

¹ Löschner, i. 518.

² Löschner, ii. 14, 15.

a grain of charity for the violent language which Luther came to employ, when it is observed that he was himself first assailed with opprobrium and abuse. Prierias, in the dialogue from which quotation has just been made, sets out the Wittenberg theologian in the most virulent and contemptuous phrases.¹ A third reply came from a man possessing much better talents than Tetzels or Prierias, though bound scarcely less than they by the cords of the scholastic theology,—from John Meyer of the University of Ingolstadt, commonly known from the place of his birth as Dr. Eck. The strictures which he wrote on Luther's theses were the prelude to the energetic crusade which he undertook against the Reformer.

Meanwhile Leo X. was less concerned for himself than his partisans appeared to be for him. "It is a mere monkish squabble," said he. "A drunken German has written these theses: when he has become sober, he will talk very differently." These words are characteristic of Leo X.; a man too indifferent in religion to be very zealous or bigoted, more interested in art, literature, and worldly success, than in upholding a purely ecclesiastical dominion. A Roman Catholic writer thus describes him: Standing between Charles V. and Francis I., "Leo X. showed not so much a wavering as a shrewdly calculating temper, in that he continually bestowed his favor upon the momentary victor. Herein he declined to observe the words of

¹ Luther appears quite urbane, in consideration of his provocation, when he writes to Prierias respecting his treatise, "*dialogus ille tuus satis superciliosus, et plane totus Italicus et Thomisticus*" (Epist. lxxvii.).

Ægidius of Viterbo, and showed himself more concerned about a piece of land than about the real welfare of the Church. In his neighborhood he used the greatest liberality in behalf of the arts and sciences, and patronized them not merely out of vanity, but from understanding and conviction, whereby he was able to restore a living image of the Augustan age. But of the blessing and power of Christianity he seems to have had less experience. This explains his dealing with Luther, in many respects so destitute of resolution. In the degree in which he failed to make religion the highest concern of life, he was unable to conceive that another in the face of deadly peril would hazard so much in its behalf. Hence his splendid pontificate worked to the detriment of the Church, especially since his excessive expenditures gave rise to troublesome religious strife, and also impaired the standing of his successor at Rome, who cherished the noblest designs."¹

War, therefore, was not at once declared against Luther by the Pope. Luther on his part had no desire to precipitate such. In a letter to Leo (May 30, 1518), he declared the honest and pure motives by which he had been guided, and expressed himself as willing to submit to the papal decision. He used terms as humble as could well be asked from any subject of Rome: "Wherefore, most blessed father, prostrate I present myself at thy feet, with all that I am and all that I possess. Make alive, destroy, establish, revoke, approve, or condemn, as it may please thee. Thy voice will I acknowledge as the voice of Christ, who presides and

¹ Alzog, Kirchengeschichte, § 304.

speaks in thee. If I have deserved death, I will not refuse to die.”¹

There is no reason to impugn the sincerity of Luther in making this humble submission. At the same time, we are compelled to think that it was not based upon a full understanding of his own heart. His principles had a deeper hold upon his nature than he himself was aware of; and it is probable that if Leo had commanded a positive repudiation of these the next day after the letter was written, Luther would have found it impossible to comply. That a man in process of transition, making his own way into a new theological world, should not clearly apprehend his own position at every point, is no marvel.

A test of the hold which his principles had upon his heart was not long delayed for Luther. The Pope soon yielded to the clamors of monks and theologians, and assumed a more positive attitude. A commission was nominated and empowered to try Luther in Rome. On the 7th of August, 1518, he received a summons to appear before this commission within sixty days. At the intercession of his friends, and especially of the Elector Frederic, the case was allowed to be heard upon German soil, and Luther was summoned before the legate Cajetan in Augsburg.

The legate addressed Luther in sufficiently polite phrase, but still as a man who had no cause to plead, and whose one duty was to recant. Being requested to name the teachings which he regarded as heretical, Cajetan cited two; namely, the denial that the treasure of indulgences is identical with the merits of Christ,

¹ *Epist. lxxviii.*

and the declaration that one who comes to the sacrament must exercise faith relative to the grace therein offered. Retraction of the former teaching, as being directly in the face of a decision of Pope Clement VI., was especially insisted upon. Luther, in reply, endeavored to show that the Scriptures sustained his view. As respects the declaration of Clement VI., he did not hesitate to affirm that in the sense attributed to it by the legate, it appeared to contradict God's Word. A veritable contradiction of this kind, he said, was quite possible, since a pope is not altogether secure from errors. At the same time, he did not choose directly to challenge the papal declaration, and suggested that it might be understood in a different sense from the one advocated by the champions of indulgences. In relation to the second of the views pronounced erroneous, he declared that unless he were proffered new light which should enable him to gain a different understanding of the Scriptures, as also of confirmatory passages in Augustine and Bernard, he could not retract. "So long as these authorities stand, I cannot do otherwise, and only know that it behooves one to obey God rather than man."¹ A threat of the ban was the legate's response to Luther's refusal to comply with his demands. The personal interview closed with the ill-tempered words: "Hence, and return not again until you are ready to recant."² Cajetan had evidently had all the disputation that he wanted with the powerful monk, and had learned to his heart's content that here was a subject which the hand of arbitrary authority could not easily mould. The words which Myconius reports him

¹ Epist. lxxxiv.² Luther, Epist. lxxxiii.

to have said to Staupitz are entirely credible. The latter was asked to use his influence to convince Luther of his errors. Staupitz answered that he was not adequate to the task, and suggested that the talents of the legate were best suited to such an undertaking. To this Cajetan replied: "I wish to have nothing more to say to the beast, for he has deep eyes and wonderful speculations in his head." Luther, on his part, gave this concise estimate of Cajetan: "He is, perhaps, an eminent Thomist, but an unclear, obscure, ill-informed theologian and Christian; and therefore no more fitted to understand and judge matters in this domain than an ass is to play the harp!"¹ An agreement was, under the conditions, next to impossible. Luther, however, thought it best, before finishing with the legate, to render a species of peace-offering. Accordingly, in a letter which he wrote to him, while declining to recant, he expressed regret for any indiscreet and violent language which he might have employed, and agreed to keep silent on the subject of indulgences, provided restraint should be put upon the opposing party.² No notice was taken of this communication. Luther shortly afterwards left Augsburg, glad to escape in safety from a place to which, as he himself has testified, he had journeyed with many a foreboding of the martyr's fate.³

The next move on the part of Rome was the publishing of a bull, which, indeed, did not mention Luther by name, but was aimed against his opinions, and asserted the doctrine of indulgences precisely in the points

¹ Epist. lxxxv.

² Epist. lxxxvi.

³ For Luther's own account of his interview with Cajetan, see Epist. lxxxiii., lxxxiv., lxxxv., xcv.

attacked. Luther, however, had anticipated the issue thus raised, by appealing from the Pope to a general council (Nov. 28, 1518).

To rise above the decisions both of popes and councils, and appeal to the binding authority of the Scriptures, was no inconsiderable advance beyond the position then held by Luther. But events were urging on toward this result. To be sure, the adroitness of the new legate, Miltitz, delayed their course a little. He resolved to try the power of kindness and flattery. He blamed Tetzel much more than Luther, and summoned the former to answer for his misdeeds. These tactics were not without their reward. Luther doubtless had no great confidence that a sincere heart was back of the rather excessive friendliness which Miltitz professed.¹ Still, before he had fully resolved on the desperate venture of throwing off allegiance to the old Church, he could not well be averse to a friendly negotiation. Accordingly, he agreed to keep silence on the matters in dispute, provided his adversaries would do the same, and to await the decision of his case at the hands of some German bishop. But Providence seemed not to favor this truce. That a Divine hand urged on to the conflict, was the verdict of the Reformer himself; and not many weeks after his conference with the papal commissioner, he wrote to Staupitz: "God snatches me away, pushes me forward, rather than leads me. I am not master of myself. I wish to live in quiet, and I am hurried into the midst of tumults."²

¹ Epist. cxv.

² cxxiii.

II.—LUTHER FROM THE OPENING OF THE LEIPZIG DIS-
PUTATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE DIET OF WORMS.

This was the crisis epoch in the life of Luther. Within the brief interval of less than two years, he travelled out of sight of Roman sovereignty, and started no small part of Europe on the road to like emancipation. Another life, showing greater fruitfulness in word and deed in the same space of time, cannot easily be found since the foundation era of Christianity.

The truce entered into with Miltitz was understood to be a temporary expedient. It imposed obligation only while the case of Luther was waiting decision from the stipulated tribunal. In fact, it was ended before any hearing had been arranged. The adversaries of Luther were not disposed to keep quiet. Doctor Eck, supremely confident of his controversial superiority, would rest short of nothing but a contest with the chief agitator. He published, therefore, a set of theses, ostensibly in preparation for a disputation with Carlstadt, but really directed against the principal doctrines of Luther. This was regarded by Luther as a challenge which needed to be answered. The result was the disputation held at Leipzig, June 27–July 16, 1519, under the auspices of Duke George of Saxony.

The disputation opened between Carlstadt and Eck on free will, and was continued between Luther and Eck on the primacy of the Pope, purgatory, penance, and indulgences. The principal significance and interest centred in the discussion of the primacy. Luther contended that the Pope's primacy is simply *de jure humano*, or based on the consent of Christians, and can-

{ not claim any divine right. He argued, as Wycliffe had done before, that the need of a head over the Church does not imply any divinely appointed ecclesiastical monarch, since the monarchical ideal is adequately realized in the fact that Christ is the perpetual Head of the Church. He referred to the council of Nicæa and to North African synods as plainly implying by their decisions that they recognized no universal headship in the Roman bishop. Cyprian's representation respecting sacerdotal unity proceeding from Rome, he contended, could apply only to the West; and as the Roman Church owed its origin to that in Jerusalem, the mother of all churches, the figure of Cyprian, if it proves any thing about headship, would direct to the conclusion that the supremacy over all churches belongs to Jerusalem. Certain passages of Jerome were also quoted as clearly indicating that the papal monarchy was no part of the primitive constitution of the Church. The Eastern Christians, Luther claimed, had repudiated such monarchy for fourteen hundred years. If, then, it is of divine right, they must be counted heretics and outside the pale of salvation,—a most abhorrent conclusion. "I hold it to be certain," said Luther, "that neither the Roman pontiff nor all of his flatterers are able to cast out of heaven so great a number of saints, who have never been subject to his authority. . . . If they are heretics because they did not recognize the Roman pontiff, I will accuse my opponent of being a heretic, who dares to assert that so many saints held in honor throughout the universal Church are damned."

But while Luther gave place to historical considerations, he laid the main stress upon the evidence of the

Scriptures. Augustine and all the fathers put together, he declared, could not bind his judgment counter to the teaching of God's Word. He complained of Eck, that he merely skimmed over the surface of Scripture, or rather fled from it as the devil flees from the cross. In the Acts of the Apostles, he said, we have the clearest proof that Peter had no authority over the other apostles; while the exegesis which affects to find in Matt. xvi. 18, John xxi. 16-17, or Luke xxii. 32, a foundation for the papal supremacy, is far-fetched and counter to the tenor of the New Testament.

The most important result of the disputation was the incentive which it gave Luther to cut loose from the whole system of pretentious infallibility. He had, indeed, previously reached the conclusion, — as appears from his reply to Prierias, — that it was possible for a council to err. But as yet he had not ventured to take exception to any specific decision of a general council. This was first brought about at the Leipzig disputation, under pressure of Eck's assertion, that, in denying the divine right of the Pope, Luther was making himself a patron of the Hussite heresy, and was contending for a proposition which the council of Constance had expressly condemned. At first Luther took umbrage at being associated with Huss; his mind not yet being fully disabused of the prejudice against the Bohemian martyr, which a century of industrious vilification had ingrained into the minds of the Germans generally. But on reflection he declared, of his own accord, that several of the sentences of Huss, condemned by the council of Constance, were most Christian and evangelical. This naturally produced no small stir among

the auditors. Eck, in a letter to Hochstraten, says that many who had been favorable to Luther were terrified by this daring error, and ceased to give him countenance. To have brought his opponent to this confession, was, no doubt, a formal victory for Eck, for it enabled him to brand him in the eyes of Roman Catholics generally as a manifest heretic. But what was a formal victory for Eck was a real advantage to Luther and his cause. By assisting him to a clearer apprehension of truth, it only increased the momentum with which he was preparing to assail the ramparts of papal and hierarchical sovereignty.¹

Shortly after the Leipzig disputation, Luther took occasion to reiterate, in more emphatic terms, the position which he had there taken. In the early part of 1520, a perusal of Valla's treatise on the fictitious donation of Constantine intensified his conviction that the papal dominion was built upon falsehood.² Near the same time he confessed that a better acquaintance with the writings of Huss had assured him that he himself, as well as Paul and Augustine, were genuine Hussites, and had brought home to him the terrible fact that along with Huss evangelical truth had been condemned and burned.³

In the latter half of the year 1520 three writings of special importance came from the pen of Luther. The first of these was his "Address to his Imperial Majesty and the Nobles of the German Nation." It was a powerful oration; a trumpet-call to the German people to

¹ Luther gives an account of the disputation in *Epist.* cxlvii., cxlix., cli.

² *Epist.* cciv.

³ *Epist.* ccviii.

lay hold upon the work of reforming the Church. In this arduous task, said Luther, wherein the contest must be waged not with men but with the magnates of hell, no carnal weapons will avail. The labor must be undertaken in humble reliance upon God, and with minds intent upon the good of a suffering Christendom rather than upon requiting evil men for their misdeeds. In essaying the reform, three walls must be broken through, which hitherto have been interposed against all efforts to heal corruptions and abuses. The first wall is the assumption that the laity are only a passive element in the Church; that the management of spiritual affairs belongs to the clergy, who constitute the spiritual order, having been sealed with an indelible character, and being endowed with special prerogatives and immunities which place them in wide contrast with other men. The way to break down the wall is to discard these fables. The truth is, all Christians belong to the spiritual order. All are introduced by baptism to the priestly rank. Necessary order, indeed, forbids that all should discharge ministerial functions. But the distinction between priest and layman is only official; the priest is but the representative of the body of believers. To induct one into the priestly office, nothing beyond the will of the congregation is absolutely necessary. A company of laymen, accidentally isolated from all fellow-Christians, would be entirely competent to empower one of their number to administer the sacraments, and to perform every priestly function. As the official is the only distinction, when that is cancelled no dividing line remains. A deposed priest is only a peasant or citizen. Away, then, with this wall of sep-

aration! Away with the fiction, worthy of the chief devil himself, that a Pope must be left to pursue his own course unchallenged, though he leads souls to perdition by the wholesale! The second wall is the claim that it is the sole prerogative of the Pope to interpret Scripture. This, too, must be brought down by resolute repudiation of unfounded assumption. The claim is contradicted by the common priesthood of believers, by Paul's teaching respecting the free distribution of spiritual gifts, and by the facts of history which convict the popes of having many times fallen into error. To found the infallibility of the Pope on Christ's prayer for Peter, that his faith might not fail, is in no wise allowable; since not a few of the popes have been sadly destitute of faith, and, moreover, Christ prayed for all Christians as well as for Peter. A breach having been made through the first two walls, little trouble will be found with the third, which is built up by the pretence that the Pope alone can call a council. As this is without warrant in Scripture, and is contradicted by the early history of the Church, Christians have no need to sit with folded hands, in the presence of deadly evil, awaiting the motion of the Roman pontiff. Nor should they pause in their reformatory efforts through awe of the papal thunders, but despise them as the utterances of a frantic mortal.

The remainder of the address was largely occupied with a detailed list of the reforms which should be undertaken by the proposed council. Altogether it was an appeal supremely adapted to the national sentiments, and fitted to stir to their depths the hearts of the more liberal and thoughtful among the German people. As

has been well said, "All the Teuton rage against Rome, pent up for centuries, is here set free."¹ It is needless to add that a rapid circulation was given to the address, four thousand copies having been sent out in the space of a few weeks.²

A second writing, entitled the "Babylonish Captivity of the Church," followed the above after an interval of about two months. It is a critique of the Romish doctrine of the sacraments as it had been elaborated in the scholastic theology. In place of the traditional list of seven sacraments, Luther finds warrant for only three, the eucharist, baptism, and penance. In connection with the first, he denounces energetically the robbery practised against the laity in the withholding of the cup; declares transubstantiation a mere speculative subtlety, which no one is bound to accept and which may rationally and scripturally be rejected; denies that the mass is to be accounted either a meritorious work or a sacrifice to God, and claims that the essential verity in it is a promise of grace to be grasped by faith. Respecting baptism, he emphasizes the idea that its virtue, which is conditioned upon faith, is not spent by the first act of sin, so that one must look to another rite which may serve as a plank for the shipwrecked. Rather, the grace offered in baptism stands continually available to him who returns to it in penitence and faith. As regards confession and absolution, Luther allows that they may subserve a good purpose. He denies, however, that absolution is an exclusive prerogative of the priest, and complains, that, in practice,

¹ Peter Bayne, *Life and Work of Martin Luther*.

² Luther, *Epist.* col.

confession is made a means of tyranny, while the satisfactions imposed have been aggravated into an ungodly and homicidal regime. The tone of the work is one of great boldness, rising at times into a ringing defiance. One or two extracts will illustrate: "Since the bishop of Rome has ceased to be a bishop, and has become a tyrant, I fear absolutely none of his decrees, since I know that neither he nor even a general council has power to establish new articles of faith." "I for my part will set free my own mind, and deliver my conscience, by declaring aloud to the Pope and to all papists, that unless they shall throw aside all their laws and traditions, and restore liberty to the churches of Christ, and cause that liberty to be taught, they are guilty of the death of all the souls which are perishing in this wretched bondage, and that the papacy is in truth nothing else than the kingdom of Babylon and of very Antichrist."

The third writing was a brief treatise on "Christian Liberty." It sustains the double thesis: "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to all." The discussion which is appended is largely occupied with the office of faith, which is declared to be the medium of liberty, as it is the medium of justification. Faith grasps the vivific word of Christ, joins the soul to Christ as the bride to the bridegroom, and so brings into it a principle of life which can never be attained on the basis of works. This, however, involves no rejection or disparagement of works. He whose soul has been purified through faith and filled with the love of God will desire that all his members

should be purified and made subservient to the love and glory of God. Thus, works must follow in the train of faith. "These works, nevertheless, are not that which justifies the individual in the sight of God; but he performs them freely from love towards God's service, looking to no other end than the Divine pleasure." That this writing should have been addressed to Pope Leo, would be a strange fact, were not the explanation at hand, that this was no result of Luther's inclination, but simply the fulfilment of a promise which he had given to Miltitz.

Before Luther had given his "Babylonish Captivity" to the public, mutterings from Rome had reached his ear. Indeed, it was known that the industrious malice of Eck had at last been rewarded, and that he had brought back to Germany a papal fulmination against Luther. After being published in several other places, a copy of the bull at length reached Wittenberg (Oct. 3). It condemned forty-one propositions¹ of Luther,

¹ The following were among the condemned propositions:—

1. *Hæretica sententia est, sed usitata: Sacramenta novæ legis justificantem gratiam illis dare, qui non ponunt obicem.*

5. *Tres esse partes pœnitentiæ, contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem, non est fundatum in Scriptura, nec in antiquis sanctis Christianis Doctoribus.*

7. *Verissimum est proverbium, et omnium doctrina de contritionibus hucusque data præstantius: de cetero non facere, summa pœnitentia, optima pœnitentia nova vita.*

8. *Nullo modo presumas confiteri peccata venalia, sed nec omnia mortalia, quia impossibile est, ut omnia mortalia cognoscas. Unde in primitiva ecclesia solum manifesta mortalia confitebantur.*

33. *Hæreticos comburi est contra voluntatem Spiritus. (To burn heretics is against the will of the Holy Spirit.)*

In relation to this last proposition, three things should be noticed: (1) The proposition could not have been condemned as being merely ill-sounding, for a more plain and moderate denial of the propriety of

adjudged to the flames all writings of his containing these propositions, and declared him exposed to all the penalties due to an obstinate heretic unless he should recant within sixty days.

As the correspondence of Luther shows,¹ it was with little trepidation that he awaited the stroke from Rome. When it came, his response was a defiance. Such was the character of the appeal which he made to a general council. The very fact of the appeal was itself an open defiance, inasmuch as the bull of Leo had declared, on the basis of constitutions promulgated by Pius II. and Julius II., that those who appeal from pope to council expose themselves to the penalties of heresy. Still

burning heretics cannot be imagined. It must have been condemned as false and heretical. (2) The bull of Leo X. being formally issued in condemnation of errors, and solemnly binding every Roman Catholic to reject and to contend against those errors, must be regarded as an *ex cathedra* document. (3) Therefore, in virtue of the dogma of papal infallibility, every Roman Catholic is bound to believe in the propriety of burning heretics.

Luther's teaching on this subject makes an interesting contrast. Commenting on Leo's condemnation of the thirty-third proposition, he says: "Christ delivered no weapons into the hands of the apostles, nor did He impose any other punishment than that one who refuses to hear the Church should be regarded as a heathen. And the apostle (Tit. iii.) teaches respecting an heretical man, that he is to be avoided, not that he should be slain with sword and fire. When the disciples (Luke ix.) wished to call down fire from heaven, and to destroy a city, Christ restrained them, saying, 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of; for the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save.' This is what I have said and do say, on the authority of Christ, namely, that those who assail men with fire are not men of good spirit. Of what spirit, then, are they? Of the evil spirit, who from the beginning was a murderer. Christ has not willed that men should be brought to faith by force and fire. Wherefore he gave the sword of the Spirit, that with this they who are the sons of the Spirit might enter the contest." (*Assertio Omn. Artic. per Bullam Leo X. damnat.*)

¹ Epist. cclviii., cclix.

more in its tone and content was the appeal a defiance. "I appeal," said Luther, "from the Pope, *first*, as an unjust, rash, and tyrannical judge, who condemns me without a hearing, and without giving any reasons for his judgment; *secondly*, as a heretic and an apostate, misled, hardened, and condemned by the Holy Scriptures, who commands me to deny that Catholic faith is necessary in the use of the sacraments; *thirdly*, as an enemy, an adversary, an antichrist, and an oppressor of Holy Scripture, who dares to set his own words in opposition to the Word of God; *fourthly*, as a blasphemer, a proud contemner of the holy Church, and of a legitimate council, who maintains that a council is nothing of itself."

Next, adding boldness of action to boldness of speech, Luther publicly burned the papal bull, together with copies of the papal decrees and some other writings, in Wittenberg. This seal upon an everlasting divorce from the papacy was given Dec. 10, 1520.

A few months later, a demand for still greater courage than that exhibited in the burning of the bull was placed upon Luther. In January, 1521, the Diet of the German Empire, presided over by Charles V., assembled at Worms. The case of Luther was one of the principal matters for settlement. At length it was concluded to summon the Reformer himself to answer before the august tribunal. A safe-conduct accompanied the summons. Some of Luther's friends sought to dissuade him from the journey, and pointed to the fate of Huss, who was burned at Constance in violation of the safe-conduct which the Emperor Sigismund had given. But Luther's determination was unalterably

taken. Several months before he received the summons, he had written to Spalatin, the chaplain of the Elector Frederic, "If I shall be called, I will respond as far as in me lies, and will be carried there sick if I cannot go in health. Nor, if the Emperor calls me, am I permitted to doubt that I am called by God. If they shall use violence,—and it is very probable that they will,—the cause must be commended to the Lord. He still lives and reigns who preserved the three young men in the furnace of the Babylonish king. If He wills not to save me, my life is of small consequence. The question of hazard or safety is not to be entertained; let us rather take heed lest we leave the gospel which we have embraced to be the sport of the wicked, and give our adversaries occasion boastfully to insinuate against us that we dare not confess what we have taught, and fear to shed our blood in its behalf. It is not for me to decide whether my life or my death will best serve the gospel and the public weal."¹ After receiving the summons he wrote, "Let God's will be done. I will commit my spirit to Christ, that while living I may condemn these ministers of Satan, and dying may overcome them. . . . They are laboring at Worms to bring me to a recantation of many articles. But this shall be my recantation: I said formerly that the Pope is the vicar of Christ. This I recall, and now say the Pope is the adversary of Christ, and the apostle of the devil."² Encountering on his journey the prediction that he was going to the fate of Huss, Luther responded, "Though they should kindle a fire all the way from Wittenberg to Worms, the flames of

¹ Epist. cclxxvii.² Epist. cccv.

which should reach to heaven, I would still appear before them in the name of the Lord, I would enter the jaws of this behemoth, confessing the Lord Jesus Christ." As he approached Worms, a messenger of Spalatin met him with the advice that he should not enter the city. The answer was the memorable saying: "Even though there should be as many devils in Worms as tiles on the housetops, still would I enter it."

Before the Diet, into whose presence Luther was ushered the 17th of April, 1521, he showed that his strong utterances had not been empty braggadocio. Copies of the various books which he had published were spread before him in the hall of the Diet, and he was asked two questions with reference to them: whether he would acknowledge them as his own, and whether he would recant their contents. Luther responded to the first question in the affirmative, and with respect to the second asked, in consideration of the gravity of the subject, a little time for consideration. He was granted until the next day to prepare his reply. He then responded that in some of his writings he may have used an unseemly acrimony of language, but as to the essential contents of his works he could not recant unless he were proved to be in the wrong. "I am," he pleaded, "but a mere man, and not God; I shall therefore defend myself as Christ did, who said, 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.' How much more should I, who am but dust and ashes, and who may so easily go astray, desire every man to state his objections to my doctrine! For this reason, by the mercy of God I conjure you, most serene

Emperor, and you, most illustrious electors and princes, and all men of every degree, to prove from the writings of the prophets and apostles that I have erred. As soon as I am convinced of this, I will retract every error, and will be the first to lay hold of my books, and throw them into the fire." Being pressed again for a specific answer to the demand to retract, Luther gave this unequivocal reply: "I cannot submit my faith either to the Pope or to the councils, because it is clear as the day that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Unless, therefore, I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or by clear reasoning, unless I am persuaded by means of the passages I have quoted, and unless my conscience is thus bound by the Word of God, I can not and will not retract; for it is unsafe and injurious to act against one's conscience. Here I stand, I can do no other: may God help me! Amen."

One of the sublimest scenes in history! No battle ever fought or won has been worth more to the cause of human liberty than this act of the peasant's son in asserting the claims of conscience before the dignitaries of Church and empire.

Various negotiations followed from the imperial and papal party, but diplomacy and threats alike failed to shake the Reformer's resolution. Some Romish advisers urged the Emperor to violate the safe-conduct, and send the arch-heretic to the flames. That Charles did not yield to this pressure, is somewhat to his praise; but his fidelity in this instance was quite offset by his subsequent declarations of regret that he had not violated his pledge and put the offending monk out of the

way.¹ At length, after the departure of Luther and of several of the princes favorable to his cause, the papal legate Aleander, who had strained every nerve to secure the condemnation of the great agitator, had the joy of seeing his machinations successful. Charles V. affixed his signature to a decree as strong and decisive as could be wished. After describing Luther as being guilty of inciting to schism, war, murder, the utter ruin of the Christian faith, and, indeed, as being Satan himself in a monk's frock, the decree continued: "For this reason, under pain of incurring the penalties due to the crime of high treason, we forbid you to harbor the said Luther after the appointed time shall be expired, to conceal him, to give him food or drink, or to furnish him, by word or by deed, publicly or secretly, with any kind of succor whatsoever. We enjoin you, moreover, to seize him; or cause him to be seized, wherever you may find him, to bring him before us without any delay, or to keep him in safe custody until you have learned from us in what manner you are to act towards him, and have received the reward due to your labors in so holy a work. As for his adherents, you will apprehend them, confine them, and confiscate their property. His writings you will burn, or utterly destroy in any other manner."²

So ended the Diet of Worms. The Emperor and the papal zealots thought, by destroying the brave monk, to destroy the Reformation. Even had Providence

¹ See Prescott's continuation of Robertson's Charles V., vol. iii. p. 482.

² For the complete edict of Worms, see Waloh, Luther's Schriften, xv. 2264-2279. We have quoted from the smooth and sufficiently accurate rendering by D'Aubigné.

placed Luther in the hands of his adversaries, their purpose would not have been accomplished. His heroism had touched ten thousand hearts. The movement had well-nigh ceased to need his advocacy. Henceforth he must appear as one among many champions of the gospel. But Providence did not design that even upon his person should the edict be fulfilled. As Luther was skirting the Thuringian forests on his return from Worms, a troop of horsemen, disguised by masks, fell upon him, scattered his attendants, carried him into the forest, and after numerous windings, in order to obscure their trail, placed him in the Wartburg castle. This friendly violence was to save him from the present storm, and give him leisure for laying still deeper the foundations of the Reformation.

III.—LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION FROM THE DIET OF WORMS TO THE CLOSE OF THE DIET OF AUGSBURG (1521-1530).

The vigorous rhetoric which was distributed throughout Germany in the Edict of Worms was not followed by a corresponding vigor in action. The Emperor gave very little attention to the execution of the edict, being engrossed in a great struggle for the ascendancy in Italy against the French king and his allies. For nearly nine years together he was absent from Germany. During this time, the cause which he had put under the ban made continued progress. There were efforts, indeed, in various quarters, to carry through the order for repression; and the Reformation was honored with a list of martyrs. Severities were especially

frequent after the year 1526. On one occasion, in Bavaria, nine were sentenced to the flames; and in another instance, twenty-nine were condemned to death by drowning. Still, in Germany at large, the interval between the Diet of Worms and the Diet of Augsburg was a time of opportunity for the Reformation.

As respects Luther himself, there was no abatement of the enormous energy and industry which he had exhibited in the preceding years. Even during his retirement in the Wartburg castle, which continued nearly a year, he still wrought with vigor, and discharged in no small measure the demands of leadership. He felt himself, indeed, to be at a disadvantage. He chafed under his enforced isolation, insomuch that he purposed at times to break away from it on his own responsibility. Ill health aggravated his mental disquiet. The consequence was, that, with his keen sensibility for the supernatural, he experienced what he considered to be satanic buffetings. History, it is true, is compelled to speak with doubt about his famous ink-bottle salute to the devil. But we have his own statement respecting the severity of his mental conflicts.¹ Through these perturbations, however, he continued to maintain a good hope for his cause. The words which he addressed to Sickingen find more than one echo in his writings at this time. "I have seen," he said, "a presumptuous smoke-cloud attempt to extinguish the sun; but the smoke passed away, the sun still shines."²

¹ Epist. cccxliii: Sed mille credas me Satanibus objectum in hac otiosa solitudine. Tanto est facilius adversus incarnatum Diabolum, id est adversus homines, quam adversus spiritualia nequitiae in coelestibus pugnare.

² Epist. cccxxiii.

Thus abortive, he judged, would be all attempts to extinguish the gospel.

At the Wartburg, Luther made several additions to the list of his polemical treatises. By far the most important task, however, which occupied his leisure, was the translation of the Bible. The first draught of the New Testament was produced here. The work of translation was continued at Wittenberg, until at length, in 1534, the complete Lutheran Bible was given to the public. The enterprise may well be regarded as marking an epoch in the national history. It is true that other translations into the vernacular had preceded this of Luther. But none of them had any thing like the same adaptation to the people; none of them were such homelike products to the German mind; none so brought out the riches of the German tongue; none were so true at once to the German and to the original; for, while it was a maxim with Luther that a translation must express the sense of the original, it was equally a maxim with him, that it must express that sense in the national idiom. Some of the conditions of a perfect translation were no doubt wanting. Luther and his colleagues did not have as complete a mastery of the original tongues of the Bible, especially the Hebrew, as was desirable. But a very fair degree of scholarship and great pains-taking were brought to the work.¹ Moreover, conditions were met which are beyond the reach of mere scholarship. "In order," says Häusser, "faithfully to reproduce the patriarchal simplicity, the homely and childlike character, of the Old and New

¹ There is evidence of the fact that Luther sometimes re-wrote a passage as many as fifteen times.

Testaments, to imitate the poetic strains of the prophets and the Psalms, and again the popular straightforwardness of the Gospels, requires a vein of congeniality — the spiritual affinity of a mind which has preserved the simple and honest originality of an unsophisticated people. This cannot be acquired by all the learning in the world, though it may easily be unlearned in the world and among books. It was precisely these qualifications which Luther possessed. A genuine son of his own people, gifted with all the wealth and depth of the German mind, he could enter into that age of simple national faith; he made its spirit and language his own, and thus acquired the power of translating into German the religious-poetic and poetic-religious mode of expression.”¹ It is scarcely necessary to add, that the copies of the new German Bible, issued as fast as the hard-worked presses could supply them, became powerful instruments for the spread of evangelical truth.

A pressing occasion called Luther from the castle. As false elements attached themselves to early Christianity, so also to the Reformation movement. A party arose in which there prevailed an intemperate spirit of innovation. They have commonly been called Anabaptists, though this term indicates only one feature of their teaching and practice, namely, their rejection of infant-baptism, and treatment of it as a nullity where already administered. They resembled to a considerable extent the Montanists of the early centuries. In other words, they were ultra spiritualists. They disparaged outward forms, exalted the inspirations of the

¹ Period of the Reformation.

Spirit above the written Word, and boasted, like the early sectaries, of prophets to whom the Lord was supposed to make direct communications of His will. Many grades, no doubt, were found among these enthusiasts, but the extremists of the class were downright fanatics. Zwickau was the first prolific source of the new order of prophets. Thomas Münzer was a leading spirit. A degree of notoriety was also attained by Nicholas Storch, Marcus Thomæ, Marcus Stübner, and Martin Cellarius. Visions and prophesyings entered plentifully into their programme. They looked for a religious revolution reaching quite beyond any thing which Luther had accomplished. They predicted a complete overturning of the existing order in Germany, and the speedy destruction of the ungodly. A few years, they said, would bring in the end of the world. With all the rest they cherished a fanciful mysticism, teaching that the Christian should rise into union with God until he reaches a state of complete quiescence and passivity.

Expelled from Zwickau, the new prophets carried their views to other quarters. Münzer proceeded in the first instance into Bohemia. Storch and Stübner made their way to Wittenberg. Here, in the absence of Luther, a means of attachment had been provided for them. A party, at the head of which were Carlstadt and a former member of the Augustinian cloister by the name of Zwilling, had become somewhat infected with the iconoclastic distemper. Impatient of delay, and careless of the prejudices of others, they wished to carry through sweeping reforms at a stroke. At the same time, an exaggerated stress upon the common

priesthood of believers and the enlightening agency of the Holy Spirit led them to speak in slighting terms of the claims of learning. Thus the Zwickau prophets found ready allies, and matters at Wittenberg assumed a phase which gave serious trouble and apprehension to sober minds.

It needed a man like Luther to meet these violent enthusiasts, and Luther was ready for the task. He was troubled by no hesitating judgment as to the merits of their cause. In their overweening confidence, their easy-going familiarity with God, and their boasted superiority to the requirements of scholarly industry, he saw clear tokens of fanaticism. It was his opinion that they ought at once to be put under restraint, not, indeed, through any appeal to force, but through such a presentation of scriptural truth as should expose the unsoundness of their position. He resolved, therefore, to proceed to the theatre of the agitation. The will of his sovereign, he knew, would detain him at the Wartburg in the interest of his personal safety. But he exhorted Frederic to have no concern for his protection. "Be it known to your highness," he wrote, "that I am going to Wittenberg under a far higher protection than that of electors."¹

Once upon the field of the disturbance, Luther made himself master of the situation. For several days in succession he delivered discourses which are universally allowed to have been masterpieces of popular addresses. He urged the claims of charity, the duty of respecting the consciences of the weak, the necessity of distin-

¹ Epist. cccxlil. As bearing on the trouble at Wittenberg, see also Epist. cccclvi., cccclviii., cccclxi., cccclxiv., cccclxvii., cccclxxi., cccclxxxl.

guishing between the essential and the optional, and of overturning wrong views by the power of the Word before making haste to overturn outward rites and customs. In all this Luther was acting a consistent part. Notwithstanding the polemical violence which he sometimes employed against those whom he regarded as the enemies of the gospel, in dealing with customs and institutions he proceeded in general as the conservative reformer.

Wittenberg was won back to Luther, and the Zwickau enthusiasts found it advisable to seek other fields. Two or three years later the most daring and ambitious of the class obtained a grand opportunity in the peasant revolt.

As already indicated, the fundamental cause of the revolt was the intolerable burdens which were imposed upon the peasants, though an immediate stimulus was no doubt derived from the religious agitations of the time. The insurrection reached formidable dimensions, spreading from the region of the Upper Rhine through Swabia and Franconia, and extending into Thuringia and Saxony. As the uprising grew in strength, so also the demands of its partisans were augmented. The first manifesto which the peasants put forth, expressed in twelve articles, was by no means extravagant. Liberty to have preachers who should proclaim the pure gospel, and release from various forms of oppression and deprivation, were the sum of their requirements. But later more exacting demands were made. In some quarters the revolt was aggravated into a levelling project, and plunder, arson, and bloodshed attended its course. This was especially the programme in Thuringia, where

Thomas Münzer took the leadership. Assuming to speak by the authority of God, Münzer exhorted the excited multitudes to proceed forward in a war of extermination until all dignitaries should be brought low. "Show no pity!" he exclaimed. "Regard not the woe of the ungodly!" But neither Münzer nor those addressed had long to think upon a scheme of vengeance. The sword descended upon their own necks. The undisciplined ranks of the insurgents were not able to withstand the well-appointed armies which at length took the field. A bloody atonement was rendered for the uprising. The peasants were cut down by the thousand and the ten thousand, and the discomfited survivors turned sadly back to their old burdens.

As for Luther, he naturally sympathized with the peasants in their grievances, and before the outbreak had rebuked the nobles in very plain terms for their oppressions. But he had no faith in appeals to the sword, and looked upon insurrectionary violence as a thing to be profoundly abhorred. Therefore, as the tumult of the revolt began to threaten the overthrow of all civil order, he counselled the putting of it down at any cost. He considered the slaughter which befell the peasants as in large part a righteous judgment. At the same time, he did not approve the rigor with which they were treated after their defeat, and warned those who disregarded the claims of mercy, that their hardness might be expected to bring on a repetition of the ordeal already suffered.¹

Between the ferment at Wittenberg, and the close of

¹ Epist. dccxxv., dccxxvii., mmccclxix.

the peasant revolt, occasion for some noted personal encounters had fallen in the way of Luther. The first of these was with a royal antagonist. Henry VIII. of England, who had great confidence in his ability to win trophies in the theological field, attempted a reply to Luther's "Babylonish Captivity," and published a defence of the seven sacraments. He was not without his reward. To say nothing of the fulsome laudations which flatterers lavished upon him, and which might lead him to think that he had written at the special dictation of the Holy Spirit, the Pope conferred upon him the honorable title, Defender of the Faith. The honor, however, was dearly bought; for the Saxon Reformer was held back by no awe of royalty, and scourged his Majesty as unmercifully as he would have the most plebeian opponent whose full-blown pride needed to be punctured. On the score of justice no complaint can be made against Luther for his small show of respect against his antagonist; for the treatise of Henry VIII., besides being no real reply to Luther from his standpoint, inasmuch as it was mainly occupied with traditional trumpery, was scurrilous and contemptuous to the last degree. On the score of policy the violent and disrespectful tone of Luther was more questionable. To be sure, it may have helped the King in forming his decision to fulfil the office of Defender of the Faith by other means than the pen; but, on the other hand, it diverted attention from the merits of the argument, and produced alienation in minds that might better have been conciliated. The choice of such a style appears to have been with Luther not merely a result of ebullition of feeling, but also of the

deliberate conclusion that it was for the interest of his cause to show that the royal mantle could not protect the vilifier, and the champion of error.¹

The answer to Henry VIII., which was written in 1522, naturally brought an increased pressure to bear upon Erasmus, from the English king and nobility, who wished him to enter the lists against Luther. No doubt their persuasions, and the value which he set upon their friendship, were one motive with the great humanist for giving open expression to his disagreement with the Reformer. As previously intimated, Erasmus chose the subject of free will as the ground of contention, and argued in favor of human ability. Luther replied in the treatise *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525). He published here in most undisguised form the strong views respecting Divine sovereignty and grace, which he not unnaturally embraced in the fervor of his reaction from Roman legalism. To all except ultra Augustinians, the *De Servo Arbitrio* must appear among the least acceptable of Luther's theological writings. It ceased early to represent the position of the great body of the Lutherans.

The year which marked the crisis of the peasant revolt and the reply to Erasmus was not so full of engagements for Luther, but that he found time to attend to a very important private matter. In 1525 he married Catharine von Bora, a nun who had abandoned the cloister.² A wish to defy his enemies and to place a

¹ Epist. ccccxii., ccccxviii.

² Luther seems not to have contemplated marriage till shortly before. Near the close of the preceding year he wrote: "So long as my sentiments continue to be what they have been and still are, I shall not take a wife: not because I am insensible to the charms of the sex, for I am

seal upon his principles,¹ as well as the attractions of the marriage state, led to this step. As a matter of course, calumnies were heaped upon him. Some quoted the prophecy that Antichrist was to be born of a monk and a nun. Erasmus, though he did not hesitate to jest over the marrying propensities of the Reformers, replied to this, "If the prophecy is true, how many thousands of Antichrists does the world already contain?"² In view of the result, the intemperate criticism wears the appearance of profane levity. The home of Luther was a scene of sacred companionship, and a nursery of piety. His daughter Magdalene lived and died as a saintly child, and his three sons were men of such exemplary lives that even the ready tongue of slander has not attempted to asperse them.

The history of German Protestantism, in the four or five years preceding the Diet of Augsburg, was marked in particular by two important events, the organization of national churches, and the project of an alliance among the Protestant powers for their mutual defence.

In Saxony the first definite organization of a Protestant communion took place between 1527 and 1529. In default of bishops friendly to the Reformation, the initiative fell to the prince. By his appointment a commission was constituted, which was directed to visit the churches, correct abuses, examine the provisions for ministerial support, and instruct religious teachers in their duty. To provide for a measure of continued

neither wood nor stone; but my mind is diverted from the consideration of marriage, since I daily expect death and the well-earned punishment of the heretic" (Epist. dcxxxvii.).

¹ Epist. dccxv., dccxvi.

² Erasmus, Epist. dcccl.

oversight, the prince nominated members of the clergy in different sections to act as superintendents, and devolved upon them a part of the functions which had formerly pertained to the bishops. The visitation, for which Melanchthon drew up the plan in 1527, was executed in the two following years. The result in one respect was rather chilling to the mind of Luther. It revealed such an amount of ignorance among the people as to cast doubt upon their fitness to have a principal share in the control of their ecclesiastical affairs. Thus the merits of a democratic type of church government received but moderate consideration. It was at this time, and under the impulse of the discoveries made respecting the need of religious instruction, that Luther prepared his catechisms.¹ In Hesse the organization of the Church was conducted according to the Saxon model, though at an earlier date (1526) the plan was discussed which was carried out among the French Protestants, and still prevails in the United States, the plan of a Church composed simply of believers voluntarily associated together, instead of an establishment holding relation to the population at large.² An organization hardly second, in its ultimate bearing on the interests of Protestantism, to any consummated in this era, was that which was effected in Prussia. The Reformation early penetrated into this region, and gained numerous adherents in the Teutonic Order. The bishops here also embraced the Reformation. As, therefore, in 1525 the Teutonic Order was secularized, and

¹ In January, 1529, Luther writes: *Modo in parando catechismo pro rudibus paganis versor* (Epist. mxxvi.).

² Ranke, II. 306, 307.

the Grand Master Albert was acknowledged in the character of temporal ruler, nothing stood in the way of a Protestant *régime* in Prussia. In this *régime* the bishops retained very largely the spiritual functions which had pertained to their office previously.

In the year 1526, the cause of the Reformation in Germany appeared to be exposed to special danger. News came that Charles V., having conquered the French king, was now ready to undertake in earnest the suppression of heresy. The peril indeed was not as imminent as it seemed to be; for the Pope had no inclination to let Charles enjoy the fruits of his victory, and prepared for him a fresh conflict by releasing the French king from the engagements which he had made at the peace of Madrid. The Protestants, however, were led seriously to consider their means of defence. The result was the Torgau league, which included the elector of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, several less important princes, and the city of Magdeburg. The resolute front presented by the evangelical princes at the Diet of Spires in 1526 prevented the passage of measures adverse to their cause. In fact, this Diet really established the territorial principle which lay at the basis of the ecclesiastical organizations described above,—the principle that each state (for the time being) should manage church affairs within its limits according to its own discretion. But this concession in its full import was not long allowed. At the Diet of Spires in 1529 the Roman Catholic party was in the ascendant, and passed measures decidedly adverse to the progress of Reformation. The protest issued upon this occasion by the evangelical party fixed upon them the name of

Protestants. Efforts were made immediately after the close of this Diet, to consummate an alliance with the Swiss, and thus to prepare for effective resistance in case of attack. This called up the doctrinal differences between Luther and Zwingli, the principal of which lay in Luther's affirmation and Zwingli's denial of the real bodily presence of Christ in the eucharist. Luther was in general extremely averse to warlike leagues in connection with religion.¹ Least of all would he consent to an alliance with the Swiss errorists, as he deemed them. An unfortunate association of the Swiss leaders with the Anabaptist enthusiasts was early formed in his mind, and he never learned to rate them at their worth. A discussion which he held with Zwingli and Œcolampadius at Marburg in 1529 failed to bring about any substantial agreement. The Reformation, therefore, parted into two streams near its fountain-head.

In June of the year 1530, the German Diet assembled at Augsburg. Thither came Charles V., fresh from the repeated victories which had crowned his arms. It was understood that he had resumed cordial relations with the Pope, and that this reconciliation meant a determined effort to extirpate heresy. It was with considerable trepidation, therefore, that the Protestant princes concluded to respond to his summons. They came, however, and with the fixed determination to sacrifice every thing sooner than the cause of evangelical truth. Charles met them in a rather lordly temper

¹ Epist. mcliv., mclxx., mcxc. "Luther," says Ranke, "was, of all men who have stood at the head of a movement world-wide in its significance, the one perhaps who was least inclined to have any thing to do with force and war" (III. 30).

at first, but he soon concluded that it was best to make a fair use of the policy of conciliation. A respectful hearing was accordingly given to the claims of the Reformation party.

Before the arrival of the Emperor, the Protestants had concluded that their cause would be best served by a formal confession of faith. The task of preparing such was executed by Melanchthon. His genius seems to have been well suited to the special exigency. A confession free from all partisan rancor, moderate in tone, but still clear and positive in its statement of the evangelical faith, was demanded, for the best effect upon the Diet. And such was the Augsburg Confession as it came from the hands of Melanchthon, and was read before the assembled dignitaries (June 25, 1530). It consisted of a preface and two parts. The first part contained twenty-one articles of faith. The second part contained seven articles relative to abuses in the Church, under which were included the withholding of the cup from the laity, enforced celibacy, private masses and connected abuses, requirement of specific confession, distinctions of meats, exaggerated stress upon monastic vows, and unwarranted assumption of ecclesiastical power.¹

The effect produced by the reading of the confession was decidedly favorable to the Protestants. Gross prejudices and misconceptions were removed from the minds of many who had been taught to regard the

¹ The confession was signed by John, Elector of Saxony, who had succeeded Frederic in 1525; by the Margrave George of Brandenburg; by Philip of Hesse; Duke Ernest of Lunenburg; Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt; and the cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen.

Protestants as wild fanatics. So strong a Roman Catholic as the Duke of Bavaria confessed that the doctrines of the Lutherans were not so utterly crude as had been represented. Reproaching Dr. Eck for the false impressions he had given, he asked him if he could refute by sound reasonings the Lutheran confession. Even the proud and pretentious controversialist had the honesty to reply, that, while he could refute the confession from the fathers and the councils, he could not from the Scriptures. "I understand," quickly replied the Duke: "the Lutherans, according to you, are in Scripture, and we are outside."¹

To offset the prestige thus gained by the Protestants, the Romanists appointed a commission to prepare a refutation. This was read before the Diet, and the Emperor affected to consider it a sufficient answer to the teachings of the Reformers. His actions, however, agreed ill with the confidence expressed; for the Protestants were not allowed a single copy of the refutation for their more perfect consideration, except under very obnoxious conditions. The unexpected courage and resolution of the Reformation party led, at length, to attempts at an adjustment of creeds. Conferences were held; both parties made concessions. On the side of the Protestants, Melanchthon showed himself especially anxious for an agreement, and, in the view of many, yielded too much. But these attempts were artificial,

¹ Luther in his *Tischreden* (No. 26) tells quite as good a story of Archbishop Albert. While at this Diet, he was observed, on a certain occasion, by one of his councillors, to be reading the Bible. "Most gracious Elector and Lord," said the councillor, "what does your Highness make of this book?" — "I know not," replied the archbishop, "what kind of a book it is, for all that it contains is against our side."

and, as was natural, miscarried. The Diet closed with a threat of war hung over the Protestants. They were allowed till the 15th of the next April, to reconcile themselves with the Church. During this time they were to avoid all innovations, print nothing on questions of faith, and attempt to convert no one to their beliefs.

The total result was favorable to the Protestant cause. "The Diet of Augsburg," says D'Aubigné, "destined to crush the Reformation, was what strengthened it forever. It has been usual to consider the Peace of Augsburg (1555) as the period when the Reform was definitely established. That is the date of legal Protestantism; evangelical Christianity has another, — the autumn of 1530. In 1555 was the victory of the sword and of diplomacy; in 1530 was that of the Word of God and of faith; and this latter victory is, in our eyes, the truest and the surest."¹

IV.—THE GERMAN REFORMATION FROM THE DIET OF AUGSBURG TO THE DEATH OF LUTHER (1530-1546).

Charles V. did not find the means of effecting the religious subjugation of the Protestants which he had threatened at the close of the Diet of Augsburg. The precarious nature of his relations with France, and the invasions of the Turks, who at this time, under their ambitious leader Soliman II., boldly aspired to the conquest of Europe, compelled Charles to a show of indulgence toward the heretics. Moreover, the Protestant states evinced a disposition to resist, if need be, by force of arms. In the closing days of the year 1530 they laid

¹ Book xiv., chap. xii.

the foundation of the so-called Smalcald League, and the next year confirmed it by definitely pledging mutual defence in the enjoyment of their faith. Hence Charles assented to the peace of Nuremberg in 1532, which provided that religious affairs should remain unchanged till they could be settled by a diet or council. The Emperor, as heretofore, was anxious for a general council, and in 1533 he persuaded the Pope to make a move in that direction. However, such a council as the Pope planned involved, in the view of the Protestants, their condemnation beforehand, and they declined participation. The council which finally was convened, that of Trent in 1545, was no joint assembly for the settlement of doctrinal disputes, such as Charles had designed, but a thoroughly Romish affair.

For the fifteen or sixteen years following the Diet of Augsburg, the relation of Charles V. to the Protestants of Germany was that of political manœuvring; the Emperor being held back, by the difficulties of his position, from any decisive steps toward repression. The Reformation cause, during this time, was continually adding to its allies. By 1540, it counted nearly the whole of Northern Germany on its side.

Some noteworthy stumbling-blocks, however, were thrown in the way of this general progress. Such was the Anabaptist fanaticism which raged in Münster. The Reformation had made considerable progress in Münster by the year 1533, under the leadership of the preacher Bernhard Rottmann; and the bishop had found it necessary to grant tolerance to the growing party of its adherents. There was a fair prospect that the whole city would be won to the Protestant cause.

But at this juncture the Anabaptist distemper made its appearance. Rottmann himself caught the infection, and the city became a chosen resort for the extremists of the Anabaptist sect. Such in particular were John Mathys from Harlem and John Bockelson from Leyden, who played the rôle of prophets or theocratic leaders. Adherents being rapidly won, the violent sectaries usurped the government, and in 1534 banished from the city all who were counted unbelievers. One excess led to another. Works of art perished before an indiscriminate iconoclasm. The principles of the wildest communism were adopted. Polygamy was declared lawful. John of Leyden, who finally added the dignity of king to that of prophet, took sixteen wives. Every thing was managed in the name of pretended revelations from heaven. A reign of terror prevailed, and it was instant death to disagree with the fanatical chief, or his principal agent, the sword-bearer Knipperdolling. But this mad revel was soon brought to an end. In 1535 the bishop and his allies, among whom were numbered some of the Protestant states, succeeded in overpowering the fanatics. A re-action to Romanism naturally followed; Protestantism was utterly ruined in Münster.

Another stumbling-block was the bigamy of Philip of Hesse. He was united with a wife whom political considerations rather than personal preference had brought to him. The dissatisfaction not unnaturally springing from lack of affinity was aggravated by bodily disorders and an unhappy propensity of his spouse. Philip, consequently, as a man of vigorous sensual physique, had experienced special temptation. Taking up with the

¹ Ranke, III. 356-405; Hase, *Neue Propheten*.

lax code shamefully common in those days among princes, he had been guilty of great matrimonial infidelity. He was not a man of so little conscience as not to be seriously troubled over his misdemeanors, and for a long time had counted himself unworthy to receive the communion. Still, he had not the moral strength or resolution to stop his indulgence. In this strait he resorted to an expedient which, without increasing the sin of his conduct, increased the scandal of it beyond measure. As a way of satisfying at once his appetite and his conscience, he made choice of bigamy. Thinking it unjust to divorce his wife, who had borne him a large family of children, he concluded that, inasmuch as he could find no Divine ordinance on record against a plurality of wives, the best course would be to take a second wife, with the consent of the first. To obtain a fitting sanction for his project, he sent Bucer (who, with all his amiable traits, possessed an excessive aptitude for diplomacy and compromise) to confer with Luther and Melancthon. These theologians were greatly disturbed by the proposition. Nevertheless, in consideration of the representations which were made to them, they were induced to give a kind of half consent. In their reply they stated that the sentence spoken at the creation, as also the words of Christ, plainly indicate that the proper idea of marriage is the union of one man and one woman. This must remain the law. They added, however, that there might be dispensations from this law in cases of extraordinary and pressing need. That Philip's was a case of this kind, they did not undertake positively to affirm, but contented themselves with the direction, that, if the Landgrave were resolved to

contract a second marriage, it must be a secret one.¹ Why the stipulation of secrecy? Because, as Luther explains elsewhere, the case was not to be made a precedent; and, moreover, an open marriage would imply a dispensation from the law of the realm which they had no power to give. They were acting simply as confessors, or spiritual advisers, and as such allowed that it might be safer for his soul, and less objectionable in the sight of God, for Philip to take an additional wife than to continue in adulterous license.²

That Luther and Melancthon made the concession that they did, was undoubtedly an enormous mistake. That they were guilty of moral obliquity, is not so clear. Certainly they cannot be charged with inventing a theory to meet a case. Earlier expressions of theirs indicate a belief that under certain extraordinary conditions a dispensation from the law of monogamy might legitimately be granted.³ Nor would it seem that they were altogether alone in this. There is evidence that some contemporary Romanists conceived that a dispensation for a plural marriage was not strictly out of question.⁴ One may surmise, indeed, that the Wittenberg divines were moved by a spirit of unworthy compliance in dealing with the proposition of the Landgrave, and were not perfectly settled in the conviction that there was such an exigency with him as constituted adequate ground for a dispensation. This is possible, but it is not proved. All that can be said is, that

¹ Epist. mdccciv., mdccciv.

² Epist. mmdxvi., mmdxli.

³ Epist. dlxxii., mcccix. See also J. C. Hare, *Vindication of Luther*. Melancthon, as Hare testifies, had taken the same ground which appears in Luther's epistles.

⁴ Küstlin, II. 485, 676; D'Aubigné, *Book XX.*, chap. v.

Melanchthon was undoubtedly a man of more than average conscientiousness, and that few men have lived who were less inclined than Luther to take counsel with mere expediency where any principle was concerned.

The bigamous marriage took place in 1540, and the scandal was not long in following. Deplorable as was the affair, it was not without some compensations. Luther and his associates were sufficiently instructed by this one experience, and thereafter were more than content to allow the law of monogamy to stand in unqualified force. If a second compensation were to be noted, it might be found in the revelation that was called forth of Luther's stanchness and strength, in the hardihood with which he bore the opprobrium, and in the might with which he lifted up Melanchthon from the very gates of death.

Before this interval of negotiation and political finesse had merged into the stern ordeal of battle, Luther passed away (Feb. 18, 1546). His departure, so far as his personal fortunes were concerned, was in peace and unshaken faith. Among his last words was the thrice-repeated sentence: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Thou hast redeemed me, Thou faithful God." So ended a stormy life; so passed away one of the great men of history. He had indeed his faults and weaknesses, too prominent to be concealed. His nature was too vehement for evenness and consistency. Some of his eminent virtues bordered close upon vices. His zeal for the faith ran, at times, into unseemly passion; his steadfastness to his conviction, into apparent wilfulness and stubbornness; his hatred of shams, into disdain and abuse. But with all these

detracting features, Luther exhibited that which must ever command admiration. We see in him a marked individuality, an heroic temper, a consummate genius, a deeply religious spirit, a peculiarly faithful embodiment of strong national traits. As David was the man of Israel, so Luther was the man of Germany. As David embodied the chivalry, the patriotism, the lyric talent, the domestic affection, and the religious ardor of Israel, so Luther embodied the leading features of the German mind and heart. His words thrilled the men of his time, and to-day are in large part fresh and living. To soberness and mirth he alike paid tribute. Few have shown so fully the gift of easy transition from seriousness to pleasantry. A many-sided, rich, and powerful nature was that of Luther. Says one who has never accepted Protestantism: "It was Luther's overpowering greatness of mind, and marvellous many-sidedness, which made him to be the man of his time and of his people; and it is correct to say that there never has been a German who has so intuitively understood his people, and in turn has been by the nation so perfectly comprehended, I might say absorbed by it, as this Augustinian monk at Wittenberg. Heart and mind of the Germans were in his hand like the lyre in the hand of the musician. Moreover, he has given to his people more than any other man in Christian ages has ever given to a people, language, manual for popular instruction, Bible, hymns of worship; and every thing which his opponents in their turn had to offer or to place in comparison with these, showed itself tame and powerless and colorless by the side of his sweeping eloquence. They stammered: he spoke with the tongue of an

orator; it is he only who has stamped the imperishable seal of his own soul alike upon the German language and upon the German mind; and even those Germans who abhorred him as the powerful heretic and seducer of the nation cannot escape; they must discourse with his words, they must think with his thoughts."¹

V.—THE GERMAN REFORMATION FROM THE DEATH OF LUTHER TO THE DEATH OF MELANCHTHON (1546-1560).

The use of peaceful measures toward the Protestants did not result altogether according to the wishes of Charles V. He found the heretics less yielding than he had hoped. As they refused submission to the Council of Trent, and also absented themselves from the Diet of Regensburg, which was designed to work toward submission to the council, Charles was determined to delay no longer the resort to force. To divide his opponents, he put the imperial ban upon only two of the princes, — John Frederic, the Elector of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse. To the Protestants he tried to make it appear that it was by no means a religious war which he was conducting; while, at the same time, he leagued with the Pope for the complete overthrow of Protestantism. The action of the Pope, however, so clearly revealed the plot, that no excuse remained for being deceived.

In the ensuing war, inefficient leadership and divided counsels robbed the Protestants of the success which they might have expected. Moreover, one of their number, Maurice, the young Duke of Saxony, joined with the Emperor. His defection was more political

¹ Döllinger; quoted by G. P. Fisher, *History of the Reformation*.

than religious. He was full of ambition, and wished to make use of the Emperor to enlarge his domain. Under these circumstances, Charles gained a complete victory. The Elector of Saxony and Philip of Hesse were made prisoners. The electoral dignity, together with a large part of the territory which it represented, was given to Maurice. The Smalcald League was destroyed.

As by this time the Pope and Charles had ceased to act together,—the former, indeed, seeking to thwart the plans of the latter,—Charles assumed, on his own account, to make a settlement of religious matters. Entertaining a somewhat superficial view of the nature of Protestant convictions, he thought that by a few concessions, and by the abolition of certain abuses, he could bring the whole Protestant population under the dominion of the Romish Church. He employed, therefore, some theologians to prepare a scheme corresponding to this view. A provisional grant of marriage to priests, and of the cup to the laity, and formulas on the subject of justification and the mass, which toned down somewhat the Romish theories, were the most that was conceded to the Protestants. This scheme received the sanction of the Diet of Augsburg, in 1548, and was called the Augsburg Interim. The people and the ministry on the side of the Protestants were strongly averse to the Interim. Force, however, availed to carry it through in Southern Germany. In Northern Germany a stout resistance was offered. Duke Maurice, notwithstanding his alliance with the Emperor, would not undertake to impose it upon his own domains, except in a modified form. The city of Magdeburg was especially determined in its opposition. Not a

few of the Roman-Catholic party also disliked the Interim as a half-measure, and destitute of proper authority. Moreover, the bold and aggressive manner in which Charles used his victories for the exaltation of imperial prerogatives was a source of jealousy.

The Emperor, therefore, was not as strong and secure as he imagined; and it only needed a bold stroke to reveal the fact. Meanwhile, Maurice, who had been intrusted with the reduction of Magdeburg, was preparing to give that stroke. While it was desirable to appease the hatred of the Protestants which had been aroused against him by his treacherous conduct, he found a ground of quarrel with the Emperor, in that he refused to release his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse, from rigorous imprisonment. He began also to apprehend that the dignity of the German princes generally would be endangered by the continued success of Charles. Accordingly, he protracted the siege of Magdeburg until his plans were well matured for a change of sides. Then, marching suddenly upon the Emperor, he took him by surprise, and left him in such an unfavorable plight, that he assented to terms of peace, stipulating in the treaty of Passau (1552) for the liberation of the captive princes, and indulgence for the time being to the Protestant religion. The movements of the Turks and the attitude of France prevented Charles from recovering the lost ground; and at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1555, peace was finally concluded in earnest. The fundamental articles of the treaty were, that the rulers were to be allowed to exercise free choice between the Roman Catholic religion and the Lutheran, as expressed in the Augsburg Con-

fession, while the subjects were to be dependent upon the will of the rulers as to their religion. Should the subjects be oppressed in conscience by the prince, they were to be allowed unhindered egress from the realm. The Protestants were to retain the church property which was in their possession at the peace of Passau. From the privileges of Protestantism, however, one important item was withheld. While civil princes might change their religion freely and without any material loss, ecclesiastical dignitaries, should they go over to Protestantism, were to lose all the temporalities formerly pertaining to their positions. This article (*Reservatum ecclesiasticum*) was stoutly opposed by the Protestants; but Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V., who presided over the Diet, showed himself unyielding. The Protestants at length gave a reluctant consent; obtaining, in return, simply the imperial declaration that the subjects of ecclesiastical princes should be allowed religious liberty.

In the treaty of Augsburg, Protestantism, at least so far as the Lutherans or adherents of the Augsburg Confession were concerned, obtained legal recognition. During the next few years it spread rapidly, and gained a good foothold even in Bavaria and Austria. But the meridian was soon reached. A Roman Catholic reaction, urged on both by secular and religious powers, set in; and Protestantism lost much territory which at one time it held wholly or in part.

Before passing from the field of the German Reformation, it is fitting to add a few words respecting the distinguished co-laborer of Luther, Melanchthon. If

the work of the latter stands out in less august proportions than that of the former, it was still important and of far-reaching consequence.

In their personal relations Melanchthon was no doubt much more influenced by Luther than was Luther by Melanchthon. The evangelical zeal of the older Reformer kindled that of the younger. Without the powerful impulse which was received from Luther, Melanchthon, very likely, would have been only a more serious Erasmus. But, while he was not able to modify Luther as much as he was modified by him, he wrought a work as a scholar and theologian the influence of which has been parallel with that of Luther, and has re-acted upon it in no inconsiderable measure.

Melanchthon may be said to have figured conspicuously in three different characters; namely, as humanist, theologian, and reconciler, or agent of attempted mediation, between different parties. The last was naturally the least fruitful of honor; for the office of mediator, in the theological domain, is commonly as thankless as it is difficult. Melanchthon, with his moderation and conciliatory temper, had, indeed, far more than average qualifications for the office. This was understood by his contemporaries, and may help to explain the fact that he was so often summoned to take part in negotiations looking to a re-union of the divided Church. But his aptitudes secured him no success; as, under the conditions, success was impossible, at least as respects healing the schism between Protestants and Romanists. In dealing with a hierarchy boastful of its infallibility, to make an agreement is simply to sacrifice the truth. Melanchthon, in one and another in-

stance, was supposed to have made this sacrifice, and was brought under severe criticism. Doubtless his concessions were not always kept within due limits; but in part, at least, they sprang from conviction, as well as from the desire for peace. Such was the origin of the tolerance which he expressed for a hierarchical constitution. He felt that the Church needed a strong government of its own, and without this means of self-direction would fall into a pernicious dependence upon the State.

Melanchthon had both the natural tastes and the training of the humanist. Before he took the professor's chair at Wittenberg, at the age of twenty-one, he had already won some distinction by his proficiency in the classic literature, and his purity of style. Erasmus early awarded him this flattering estimate: "Of Melanchthon I have already the highest opinion, and cherish the most magnificent hopes; so much so that I am persuaded Christ designs this youth to excel us all: he will totally eclipse Erasmus."¹ Through endowments and acquisitions of this order, Melanchthon was able to give to Protestant piety a valuable association with classic culture. As Vilmar remarks, he drew the plan for schools within the evangelical Church, which have continued for more than two centuries to be seats of a profound study of the Greek and the Roman literature, and thus earned for himself the title *Præceptor Germaniæ*.²

As a theologian, Melanchthon had the distinction of writing the first work of systematic theology which

¹ Quoted by F. A. Cox, *Life of Melanchthon*.

² A. F. C. Vilmar, *Sketches of Luther, Melanchthon, and Zwingli*.

appeared on the side of the Reformation, his "*Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum*." This was published in 1521, when the author was but twenty-four years of age. Luther was greatly delighted with it, and declared that no book could be found in which the sum of religion was more finely compacted together. Enlarged and modified in later editions, the "*Loci*" remained the most important memorial of the theological activity of Melancthon. At the time of the first draught his views were in substantial accord with those of Luther. Later his thinking diverged in three main particulars. Rejecting strict Augustinianism with its predestination and monergism, he gave a place to free will, and taught a moderate synergism. He inclined to Calvin's theory of the efficacious presence of Christ in the eucharist, as opposed to Luther's assertion of the real bodily presence. He was averse to the mystical phase in christology which Luther, in conformity with his eucharistic theory, had inculcated, — the doctrine of the communication of divine predicates to the human nature of Christ. That Luther viewed this deviation with grief and annoyance, is not to be questioned; but it is equally certain that the doctrinal differences between the two men did not really sever the bond of rare affection by which they had been united.

VI. — THE REFORMATION IN THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES.

As communication with Germany was the initial cause of the evangelical movement in these countries, and the Lutheran type was adopted by them, it is not

inappropriate to direct a glance to them in this connection.

The Reformation in the Scandinavian countries had its real foundation in the labors of earnest preachers, and in the growing strength of popular conviction. At the same time it cannot be denied that its course was largely shaped by political influence.

At the time that the teachings of Luther began to be imported, the royal power, which had its seat in Denmark, was greatly restricted. In the two sister states, Sweden and Norway, which had been combined with Denmark into a triple realm by the peace of Calmar in 1397, the King had very little influence. Sweden, indeed, had held for some time a position of actual independence, being under the regency of native noblemen of the house of Sturé. In all quarters the nobles and the prelates, the latter of whom were strengthened by the vast accumulations of ecclesiastical property, formed a counterpoise to the crown.

Under these conditions, the king was not unnaturally led to regard the Reformation with favor, as a means in particular of limiting the power of the bishops, and diverting a portion of their superfluous wealth. This worldly motive was, no doubt, influential with the Danish King, Christian II. (1513-1523), who gave somewhat of encouragement to advocates of reform, imposed restrictive regulations upon the bishops, and even issued an ordinance in favor of the marriage of the clergy. The selfish intent at the basis of these measures is made sufficiently apparent by his conduct in Sweden. For here, in order to regain the royal supremacy, he allied himself with the Pope and the hierarchy, and crowned

his success in the contest by effecting, in the name of the binding authority of the Romish Church, a most atrocious massacre, in which the blood of many scores of the best citizens of Sweden was shed. This occurred near the end of 1520. Three years later, as a fit reward for his tyranny, he was deposed.

Frederic I., Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, who was invited to the vacant throne, was at heart a steadfast friend of the Reformation. He was bound indeed by pledges given before his accession, to respect the privileges of the Roman Catholic Church; and within certain limits he carried out his promises. Tolerance was asserted for both Protestants and Romanists. This meant a decided gain for the former. Under the influence of such a devoted teacher as John Tausen and others of a kindred spirit, the popular current set more and more towards the principles of the Reformation. Christian III. (1534-1559), therefore, found little difficulty in displacing the old ecclesiastical fabric. The prelates were deposed in 1536, and their places were filled by evangelical preachers, who bore at first the title of superintendents, but later revived the name of bishops. An eminent co-laborer of Luther, Bugenhagen, consecrated the new superintendents, assisted in re-organizing the university of Copenhagen, and, in union with the native theologians, prepared the constitution of the Danish Church.¹

Norway, being reduced in 1537 to the status of a province of Denmark, was placed under the ecclesiastical

¹ See Friedrich Münter, *Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark und Norwegen*, vol. iii.; Gieseler, § 17; D'Aubigné, *Reformation in the Time of Calvin*, Book XII.

system of the latter. The real conversion of the country, however, was not forthwith secured. While there was early a Protestant element in Norway, the mass of the common people were but slowly disengaged from their preference for Romanism. In Iceland, Protestantism gained the ascendancy by the middle of the century.

In Sweden the able evangelists, Olaf Peterson and his brother Lawrence (Olaus and Laurentius Petri), who had studied at Wittenberg, began to labor as early as 1519. With them was soon associated a man of like distinction, Lawrence Anderson. The reform may be said, therefore, to have been initiated by spiritual weapons. But scarcely had it entered upon its course, when it fell under the hand of princely control. A different event could not have been expected, considering the exigencies of the State, together with the fact that a man was at the helm who possessed remarkable energy and strength, a prince who had set a prostrate nation upon its feet.

This man was Gustavus Erichson, or, to use the name which he commonly bears in history, Gustavus Vasa, a scion of one of the noble families of Sweden. At a time when his country was paralyzed with horror and grief over the massacre which Christian II. had wrought at Stockholm, he came single-handed to the rescue. By his eloquence and indomitable spirit, he gave heart to his countrymen, and soon rallied them in sufficient numbers to his standard, to make an end of Danish rule in Sweden. The government was devolved upon him, first as regent, in 1521, and then as king, in 1523. His rule extended to 1560.

Being set over a country which afforded no adequate revenue for the efficient administration of affairs,

Gustavus felt little scruple about crossing the lines of the Church to find necessary means ; and rarely has an invasion of this kind been more excusable. The accumulation of ecclesiastical property had gone to a shameful extreme in Sweden. The Church owned two-thirds of the land. The prelates dwelt in fortified castles, and figured as great feudal lords. One bishop is said to have had control of more than six hundred benefices and estates, another claimed right over four hundred, while the archbishop had under his hand nearly as many as the two combined. It was felt that such a power, while it was counter to the spiritual office, was also a menace to the integrity of the realm. Gustavus therefore set himself resolutely to the task of cutting down the wealth of the Church and the power of the bishops. He encountered stubborn opposition, but he was resolved to lay down his crown rather than not succeed. And such was his ascendancy over the nation, that he completely triumphed.

The patriotic and regal interest was uppermost with Gustavus Vasa ; but he was not indifferent to religion. Early in his reign he showed his preference for the Lutheran faith, by promoting the brothers Peterson to important positions in the Church, and making Anderson his chancellor. As his reign went on, his patronage of Protestantism became more positive and unmistakable. Nevertheless his subjects were not compelled to renounce Romanism, and a considerable number of the old religious rites were very commonly practised.¹

¹ As the transition to Protestantism in Sweden was not accomplished by sudden violence, the historic connections of the episcopacy were not broken. The Swedish Church, with quite as good right as the English, may claim apostolic succession.

By the close of the reign of Gustavus, the leaven of evangelical teaching had truly pervaded the minds of not a few Swedes; but many remained still unaffected. There was opportunity, therefore, for a re-action to Romanism. In the reign of John III. (1568-1592), who followed the ill-starred Eric, such a re-action came. Influenced by his Roman Catholic wife, by the hope of certain worldly advantages, and by a taste for a showy ceremonial, John zealously inaugurated a return movement to Rome. All progressed well for a time. A liturgy decidedly tinged with Romanism was forced upon the clergy. Jesuit emissaries were introduced, and engaged craftily in the work of proselyting. The Reformation seemed near its downfall in Sweden. It was, in fact, near its complete triumph. The slowness of the Pope to grant the concessions for which John asked, union with a new queen who favored Lutheranism, and the manifest revolt of the popular mind against the ultra tone which the papal agents had begun to employ, caused the King to halt in his project, and indeed to renounce all thought of resuming connection with the papacy, though he continued to press the acceptance of his liturgy. As for the nation, John's manœuvring seems to have wrought in it a decided preference for Protestantism. This came forth conspicuously in the attitude assumed toward his son Sigismund, who had received the crown of Poland. Though a pronounced Roman Catholic, Sigismund was obliged to sanction a thoroughly Protestant scheme for the Swedish nation. Later, as he showed disinclination to abide by his engagement, he was denied all right of sovereignty in Sweden. The rule passed to the youngest son of

Gustavus Vasa, Charles IX., who took the office of regent in 1599, and began to govern as king in 1604. It was the son and successor of this King who so nobly repaid Germany for her gift of a purer faith. An introduction to him, however, is properly postponed until we come to the story of the Thirty Years' War.¹

* See Geijer, *Geschichte Schwedens*; C. M. Butler, *The Reformation in Sweden*; Gieseler, § 18; D'Aubigné, *Reformation in the Time of Calvin*, Book XII.; Häusser, chap. xii.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND.

I.—THE REFORMATION IN GERMAN SWITZERLAND.

1. THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF SWITZERLAND.

—Switzerland, at the time of the Reformation, was a confederation of republics or democratic states. The principal part of the confederacy included thirteen states or cantons; namely, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Soleure (or Solothurn), Zurich, Glarus, Berne, Freyburg, Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell. The first four of these, the so-called Forest Cantons, together with Zug, remained during the religious struggle closely associated by a stubborn attachment to the Romish Church. In addition to the thirteen cantons, Switzerland numbered several allied cities and dependent territories.

The political importance of Switzerland, at the breaking-out of the Reformation, was vastly greater than it has been in recent times. The long struggle with Austrian despotism begot a military temper and aptitude, which long survived their first occasion. The different powers of Europe became covetous of Swiss valor; and from the latter part of the fifteenth century, Swiss troops won many victories in behalf of foreigners. Occasionally, in the complications of the foreign

service, Swiss met Swiss in battle. The remark was provoked, that the flesh of the Swiss was cheaper than that of cattle. Great numbers were sacrificed on the fields of Italy in the bloody conflicts incited by French ambition. "Milan was rightly called the Switzer's grave."¹ Aside from the abhorrent spectacle of countrymen slaughtering each other in mercenary warfare, the foreign service re-acted with disastrous effect upon the national spirit and the morals of the Swiss. A system which permitted foreigners to buy up the favor of the leading men of the cantons, with pensions, could not be otherwise than deleterious to the spirit of independence and nationality; while mercenaries returning from the butchering trade naturally became missionaries of vice and corruption. The vice of unchastity, in particular, became notorious.

The Romish Church offered no proper resistance to the corrupting order of things. On the contrary, papal agents were continually laboring to swell the list of Swiss mercenaries for the service of the Pope. The energetic Cardinal of Sitten wrought to this end with indefatigable zeal. Referring to his practices, Zwingli said, "With right do the cardinals wear red hats and cloaks; for, shake these garments, and out fall ducats and crowns; wring them, however, and they drip with the blood of your sons, fathers, and best friends."² It is not strange, therefore, that patriotism as well as religious zeal called forth the utmost efforts of Zwingli to emancipate Switzerland from the curse of the foreign service. Still this position of Switzerland, between

¹ Zschokke, *History of Switzerland*.

² *Opera*, Vol. II., Pars II. p. 350, edition of Schuler and Schulthess.

different parties bidding for her arms, gave some important opportunities to the Reformation. Rome and the Romish hierarchy admitted far more of delay and tolerance into their dealings with the reform movement than they would have conceded without the military incentive.

2. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SWISS AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION. — The beginning of the Swiss Reformation was independent of the Lutheran. "It was not Germany that communicated the light of truth to Switzerland, Switzerland to France, and France to England: all these countries received it from God; just as one part of the world does not communicate the light of day to the others, but the same brilliant orb imparts it direct to all the earth. One sole and same doctrine was suddenly established in the sixteenth century, at the hearths and altars of the most distant and dissimilar nations; it was everywhere the same spirit, everywhere producing the same faith."¹ Zwingli expressly testifies: "I began to preach the gospel in the year 1516, that is to say, at a time when Luther's name had never been heard in this country. . . . It is not from Luther that I learned the doctrine of Christ, but from the Word of God."² But, while the Swiss Reformation was not an offshoot of the German, in all probability the former was not without very positive obligations to the latter; for it may fairly be questioned, whether the movement would ever have reached to so wide limits in Switzerland, had it not been for the

¹ D'Aubigné, Book VIII., chap. i.

² Opera, I. 253, 254.

prestige and aggressive energy which the cause of the Reformation acquired through the powerful agency of Luther.

The Swiss Reformation was made to differ from the German by the peculiar characteristics both of the country and of the leaders. In Germany, the opposition of the Emperor and of various princes had to be contended against. Rulers favorable to the Reformation felt obliged, in general, to proceed slowly and cautiously, taking advantage of the most favorable exigencies that might arise. In Switzerland, the chief opposition came from the nobles, who liked their foreign pensions, and from the unenlightened class, particularly the mountaineers, who clung with blind conservatism to old customs. As is apt to be the case under a democratic form of government, public opinion, when once it commanded a majority in favor of a change, asserted itself with great energy and boldness. Sweeping reform measures were carried through at a stroke in some of the principal cantons. As respects leadership also, the Swiss Reformation exhibits a more republican cast than the Lutheran. To be sure, Zwingli and his canton of Zurich took a leading part. But Zwingli had contemporaries in other cantons who stood comparatively near to him in influence; he was less the monarch of the Swiss Reformation than Luther was of the German.

The two Reformers differed quite as much as the circumstances of their countries. Luther, although he appreciated the humanistic culture, did not draw his inspiration, to any considerable extent, from the classics. Augustine and writers of a mystical vein, such

as John Tauler and the author of the "German Theology," were his chief sources after the Bible. Zwingli, on the other hand, drew from the classics next to the Bible. He introduced frequent illustrations from the lives of ancient heroes, and emulated their spirit and deeds. As regards humanistic bias, he stood between Erasmus and Luther, and naturally, therefore, was better able than Luther to retain the friendship of Erasmus. In religious experience Zwingli trod a much more even course than Luther. The latter passed through mighty struggles. The gospel led him from inner conflicts and despair to peace and rejoicing. Not so with Zwingli. The gospel led him from a life which had not been wholly free from dissipation, into a growing seriousness. His conversion appeared as a gradual intensifying of religious conviction, and sanctification of life, under the impulse of an earnest study of the Scriptures. Luther's life shows more of variety and dramatic fervor; he possessed more the element of intuition and feeling. Zwingli inclined more to the logic which reasons out conclusions from definite premises. Biblical authority, as the rule of individual and church life, and the doctrine of justification by faith, were emphasized by both; but Zwingli, as compared with Luther, dwelt less upon the latter point. Luther was often the more radical in manner, but Zwingli's straightforward logic made him, in some respects, the more radical in principle; he had less sympathy with the preceding history of the Church; was more disposed to conform every thing, with unsparing rigor, to apostolic simplicity. Hence, Zwingli, though far from being hostile to art in itself, banished images from the churches,

and reduced the Lord's house to a Puritanical plainness, while Luther was inclined to a toleration of images as religious ornaments. Zwingli was far more a man of the world than Luther. Patriotic endeavors were continually associated by him with religious efforts. In contrast with Luther, who admitted with great reluctance the right of the Reformation to resort to arms even in self-defence, Zwingli countenanced an aggressive use of arms, at least to the extent of anticipating attacks from the Romish cantons, and compelling them to a toleration of reform principles.¹

A preceding page has indicated that Zwingli's teaching on the subject of the eucharist was, more than any other peculiarity, a stone of stumbling to Luther. The consecrated elements, as Zwingli held, are nothing more nor less than symbols, so far as they are related to the person of Christ. In the eucharistic rite the communicant gives a pledge of fidelity and discipleship, and receives an aid to his faith. He eats the body of Christ only in a spiritual sense. "Spiritually to eat the body of Christ, is only with the spirit and mind to rest upon the compassion and goodness of God in Christ."² From this standpoint, Zwingli naturally found little occasion for Luther's doctrine of a communication of divine predicates to Christ's human nature. Moreover, the mysticism and docetism involved in such a doctrine were not congenial to his way of thinking. A still further difference between the two theologians was involved in Zwingli's rejection of the traditional dogma respecting original sin. Giving heed

¹ Compare Hagenbach, *Kirchengeschichte*, III., Vorlesungen X., XV.

² *Opera*, IV. 53.

to the rational consideration that only moral personality can sin and incur guilt, he denied any ante-natal ground of guilt, and maintained that we receive from the fallen Adam simply corruption of nature.

Teachings of this order have been made a ground of a relative disparagement of Zwingli. Even to this day, the High Church Lutheran has not been cured of the habit of descanting on the superficiality of the Swiss Reformer. But surely a readiness to impale the reason on such doctrines as the real bodily presence, the *communicatio idiomatum*, and original guilt, has never yet been proved to be a mark of profundity. No doubt the complete, full-rounded theologian must possess a mind duly sensitive to the mystical side of Christianity. But it is equally true, that an appeal to mystery has often been used to shelter absurdity. Without a good degree of that love of clearness and intelligibility which characterized Zwingli, Christianity has no adequate safeguard against being cumbered with worse than heathenish superstitions.

The principal dogmatic fault of Zwingli lay in the same field with a cardinal error of Luther. The *De Providentia Dei* of the one involves essentially the same exaggeration of Divine sovereignty, and violence to human freedom, as does the *De Servo Arbitrio* of the other. On these points, however, we can hardly escape the conviction that Zwingli, had a longer period been granted him for his dogmatical development, would have imitated the example of Melancthon, whom he resembled in rational bent of mind, and would have modified his ultra teaching. As it was, Zwingli's predestinarianism received one marked amelioration.

With a liberality which finds few parallels in the sixteenth century, he regarded the Divine clemency as admitting the virtuous heathen to eternal life. In his "Exposition of the Christian Faith," addressed to the French King, he gives expression to the expectation that in the presence of God will be seen not only the biblical saints, but also Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, the Catos, the Scipios; in short, every good man, every faithful soul, who has lived or shall yet live upon the earth.¹

3. CHIEF EVENTS. — Ulrich Zwingli was born at the mountain town of Wildhaus, Jan. 1, 1484. The promising talents of the child caused his parents to seek the best educational advantages. Zwingli studied at an early age in Basle and Berne, where he was schooled in the classics. For two years he applied himself to philosophy, after the pattern of the scholastic system, in Vienna. This was not a very welcome task, as he had little relish for mere formalities and subtleties of intellectual procedure. At a second sojourn in Basle, he continued his study of the languages, theology, philosophy, and music. For the last branch he showed a remarkable love and aptitude, and learned to play on a variety of instruments. His stay in Basle brought him into association with men of free-spirited and evangelical temper, such as his teacher Wyttенbach, and his fellow-student Leo Juda.

For several years prior to 1516, Zwingli served as pastor of Glarus. During this time his eyes were more than ever opened to the evils of the foreign service.

¹ Opera, IV. 65.

Nevertheless he obeyed the requirements put upon him, and twice accompanied the troops to Italy. Meanwhile he zealously studied the classics and the New Testament. His literary tastes naturally made him an admirer of Erasmus, and he purchased and read his writings as fast as they appeared. Erasmus seems to have reciprocated, in a measure, this appreciation, and sent him a complimentary letter. "I congratulate the Helvetian nation," he wrote, "which you and those like to you, by your most excellent studies and morals, are laboring to polish, and are preparing for renown."¹

In 1516 Zwingli was transferred to Einsiedeln. Here his preaching began to assume an evangelical tone. This place contained a noted shrine of the Virgin, and was a great pilgrim resort. Zwingli sought to antagonize the superstitions which centred here, not indeed by open attack, but by a faithful inculcation of gospel truth. While pursuing his office at Einsiedeln, he heard of the peddling of indulgences by Samson, and raised his voice against the abomination. A little later, he used his influence to prohibit the entrance of this vender of papal wares into Zurich, — an attempt the more easily successful, as it had the sanction of the Bishop of Constance. The practices of Samson in Switzerland were just about as shameless as those of Tetzl in Germany, but they were by no means such a cause of awakening. The Swiss Reformation received, comparatively, but a trivial impulse from the mercenary tour of Samson.

At Zurich, where Zwingli began his labors on the first day of the year 1519, he appeared emphatically

¹ Opera, Epist., sub anno 1514.

as the evangelical preacher, and gave an extended course of New-Testament expositions. Opposition, and even designs of violence against his person, were not wanting. But Zwingli was a man of peculiarly fearless temper, and in more than one respect was qualified to command a powerful influence. He was of noble personal appearance, of eloquent address, and of a genial temper. With heroic decision and energy, he combined an air of reasonableness and tender consideration. To patrician and peasant he was alike affable. "He invited the country people," said one of his enemies, "to dine with him, walked with them, talked to them of God, put the devil into their hearts, and his books into their pockets." Pressing steadfastly forward, Zwingli gained the council of the canton, and brought his cause to a decided preponderance. He had no such stormy crisis to pass through as that which fell to the lot of Luther. He was comparatively unmolested by the Pope. Indeed, he received a pension from the Pope (ostensibly for the purchase of books), up to the year 1520, when he voluntarily declined it; and as late as the beginning of 1523, Pope Adrian VI. sent him a flattering letter. This, however, indicates no temporizing on the part of Zwingli, but the force of political motives with the Pope, who coveted the support of Zurich, this being the only canton which in the preceding years had taken a firm position against the alliance with France. Very near the time that this letter was written, Zwingli conducted a disputation, and argued triumphantly against Romish corruptions of gospel faith and practice. Another disputation the same year contributed greatly to the advance of reformed opinions. The

Zurich government soon proceeded to banish images from the churches, accomplishing legally and peaceably a measure which in too many instances in Switzerland, and in connection with the Reformed Church generally, was carried through with iconoclastic violence. The mass, also, was abolished, and in its place the eucharist was celebrated with primitive simplicity (1524-25).

As appears from the above, the civil government was a leading factor in the management of ecclesiastical affairs at Zurich. This accorded with Zwingli's theory of church administration. At the same time he did not look upon the civil government as vested with an arbitrary power, but rather as an agent for executing in an orderly manner the will of the congregation. His practice, as he himself has described it, was first to expound from the pulpit any subject of common interest, until a general conviction was wrought in the minds of the people respecting its proper settlement. Then it was carried before the great council of the canton, which, in consultation with the servants of the Church, took the necessary measures. The highest legislative authority rested thus with the government, though means were taken to give a good degree of weight to public opinion, or the will of the congregation.¹

The year 1524 has sometimes been given as the date of Zwingli's marriage with Anna Reinhardt, a woman of high reputation and of great worth. It is quite certain, however, that the marriage took place two years earlier, but out of prudential considerations was made known only to a few at that date, and was not published to the world until 1524.

¹ Opera, iii. 339.

While the Reformation was being perfected in Zurich, evangelical movements were carried on, though generally with more show of opposition, in several other cantons. In Berne, Berthold Haller labored cautiously, but with steadfast purpose. While he had some influential friends in the government, many of the aristocracy were opposed to him. They were jealous of the political bearing of the religious agitation. And, in fact, the progress of the Reformation in Berne was at the same time a progress of democracy against oligarchy. After near approaches to defeat, the party of reform obtained at length, in 1527, the ascendancy in the government; and a disputation held at the beginning of the next year, in which Zwingli took part, sealed the victory of the evangelical cause in Berne.

In Basle the Reformation was favored with the labors of a man whose culture, mental breadth, and pure character entitle him to rank next to Zwingli among the Swiss leaders. Discreet and peace-loving, but at the same time resolute and courageous, Ecolampadius was well qualified to win the good opinion of sincere and earnest minds, and to lead the evangelical cause through the rather perilous mixture of elements in Basle, to ultimate ascendancy. After seven or eight years of effort, he saw this result realized in 1529. Considerable significance attaches to Ecolampadius, in connection with the theory of church polity. Though he would not shut out the State from all interference with ecclesiastical affairs, he was jealous for the independence of the Church. In 1530 we find him addressing to Zwingli most earnest words upon this theme, declaring that a magistracy which usurped authority over the

Church was as intolerable as Antichrist himself, and claiming that discipline ought to be supervised, not by a secular tribunal, but by a spiritual, — the immediate representatives of the congregation.¹ “With right,” says Hagenbach, “Oecolampadius is designated as that one among the German reformers, who, on this subject, served as a forerunner of Calvin and Knox, though in a spirit milder than theirs, and remote from Puritanical hardness.”²

The reform movement made good progress in Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Glarus, and Appenzell. It gained a foothold also in the dependent territories or common bailiwicks. As both Roman and Reformed cantons claimed a right over these, a religious division within their limits was naturally a source of dispute and friction.

At length, the forest cantons, imbittered by the progress of the innovations, went so far as to conclude an alliance with the Austrians, for the upholding of the old faith. This abhorrent league, joined with such acts as the burning alive of the pastor Keyser, greatly incensed the Reformed cantons. The ardent Zwingli urged that it was time to unsheathe the sword of Gideon. Matters came well-nigh to an outbreak. The armies of the two parties were drawn up against each other, when peace was concluded. The terms were favorable to the Reformed. The Austrian alliance was to be given up, and a spirit of mutual toleration was to be cultivated by Romanists and Protestants. This

¹ Opera, vol. viii., Epist. CXVII. sub anno 1530.

² Johann Oecolampad und Oswald Myconius, Leben und Ausgewählte Schriften.

occurred in June, 1529. In the following months, the course of events made it clearly apparent that the Protestant cause had received a fresh impulse.

Zwingli, however, was not satisfied with the outlook. He saw the threatening attitude of the Roman Catholic powers of Germany. He felt that there could be no safety for evangelical teaching or national integrity, until the Romish cantons, humbled and deprived of their undue preponderance, should allow a fair chance to the Reformation in all Switzerland. The feelings which the exigency awakened in his mind are well indicated by the following words written by him to a senator of Constance in 1530: "Corrupt or insensate must those be who sit still and yawn, instead of putting forth every effort to collect men and means, that the Emperor may see that in vain he strives to restore the Romish faith, to seize the free cities, and to bring into subjection the Helvetians. Six months ago we had authentic information respecting his plans. The cities are to be attacked separately, to-day one, to-morrow another, and so one after another till all are reduced; then their arms are to be taken away, their treasures, their machines of war, and all their resources. No faith should be placed in the friendship of tyrants. Demosthenes has warned us that nothing is so hateful to them as the freedom of cities."¹

The manner in which the representatives of the Romish cantons were entertained at the Diet of Augsburg, the severity with which they persecuted any defection from the Romish faith in their jurisdictions, and their refusal, manifestly on the ground of religious

¹ Opera, Epist. XXXVI. sub anno 1530.

bias, to help in redressing an encroachment upon the territorial rights of the Confederacy, made it probable, in the opinion of their opponents, that they were in secret understanding with Charles V., and were looking to the complete uprooting of Protestantism in Switzerland.¹ Zwingli urged instant combination and action on the part of the Reformed cantons. But his summons met with a tardy response. The most impolitic of half-measures was resorted to, the withholding of supplies from the five Romish cantons. Threatened with want, these cantons flew to arms. Zurich, compelled to meet the onset alone and unprepared, suffered a grievous defeat at the battle of Cappel (Oct. 11, 1531). Zwingli was present at the battle, encouraging the soldiers with his voice, but making no use of his weapons. The gloomy forebodings, which he had cherished since the discarding of his resolute counsels, were realized. Wounded, and too far gone to speak, he shook his head to the Romish soldiers who summoned him to confess to a priest and to call upon the Virgin, and so invited from them the death-thrust. He died, as he had lived, the self-controlled, resolute, courageous man. His last words are said to have been, "What matters this misfortune? They may kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul!" His enemies, as if themselves aware of the limits of their power, exercised their rage to the full upon the dead body. They

¹ The surmise was natural, though a proof that an alliance with Charles was actually consummated is wanting. On their side, the Romish cantons were angered by the rather aggressive manner in which the Reformed cantons pressed for ascendancy in the common balliwicks, and were afforded an occasion of complaint in their negotiations for a defensive alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany.

quartered the corpse, burnt it to ashes, mixed therewith the ashes of swine, and scattered the dishonored dust to the four winds.

The disastrous issue, as it was not a product of Zwingli's planning, is obviously no proof against his sagacity in worldly affairs. Judging after the manner of men, had his counsels been followed, not only would an open field have been gained for the Reformation in Switzerland, but also an open field for the growth of a national strength and prosperity such as has never yet been realized. Zwingli was a pioneer in the scheme of the political as well as the religious regeneration of his country; and there have not been wanting historians who have pronounced him the greatest leader in the former relation, no less than in the latter, whom Switzerland has produced.¹ The defect in the Zurich Reformer was not a lack of political wisdom, but a lack of that higher wisdom which distrusts the efficacy of earthly weapons in the work of promoting Christ's kingdom. It should be observed, however, in justice to Zwingli, that the use of arms, which he counselled, seemed to him to be not so much aggressive warfare as a necessary prudence in self-defence. He believed that the sword was about to descend, that the Emperor and his Roman Catholic allies were preparing to unite

¹ So Ranke, III. 254. Häusser says: "It was Zwingli who first entertained the great idea of giving a general constitution to the Swiss cantons, similar to the representative democracy which has after three centuries been realized; of putting an end to the unnatural supremacy of the small forest cantons, of depriving the prefects of their jurisdiction, and of giving to the larger cantons the position to which they were entitled by their extent, power, property, and culture. Zwingli was the greatest political as well as ecclesiastical reformer whom Switzerland has ever seen." (Period of the Reformation, chap. x)

their forces for the suppression of the gospel. Nor can it be said that he was wrong in imputing such designs to them. The words which Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, addressed to his brother the Emperor, after the battle of Cappel, show how it was hoped that the defeat of Protestantism in Switzerland might be utilized for its suppression throughout Germany.

It was indeed a grievous blow which had befallen the friends of the gospel. While the treaty which was concluded secured freedom of religion to the Reformed cantons, it was in other respects unfavorable. The whole tragedy of civil war tended to the prejudice of the Reformation in Switzerland. Its progress was arrested, and not a little territory was lost. A Roman Catholic re-action seemed imminent even in the chief seats of evangelical teaching, now that the voice of the intrepid Zwingli had been hushed.

But competent leadership was not wanting in the hour of need. *Æcolampadius*, it is true, was removed from the stage of action. His death — a scene rarely surpassed for spiritual beauty — occurred shortly after that of Zwingli. An accomplished laborer, however, was found to take up his work at Basle, — *Oswald Myconius*, who, in the capacity of a teacher, had been a staunch supporter of Zwingli from the beginning of his career. At Zurich, *Henry Bullinger* stepped into the place of the fallen chief. In the earlier part of his long administration he received the efficient aid of Zwingli's co-laborer, *Leo Juda*.

Bullinger was not in all respects a man of Zwingli's type. He was not dowered with the same restless energy, zest for affairs, and talent for incisive address.

But he had qualities eminently adapted to the serious exigencies of the time. He brought a steady hand to the helm. With patience and moderation he combined firmness and unwearied industry. He managed his relations to the government with exemplary discretion. While in his conception, as in that of Zwingli, Church and State were intimately connected, he held comparatively aloof from civil affairs. At the same time he refused to receive from the magistrate any instructions which would interfere with the free and unreserved proclamation of the gospel. He gained his ends by convincing proof of reasonableness and unselfishness. Men were made to feel that they could depend at once upon his honesty and his practical wisdom. On occasion, his courage and faith rose to a heroic standard, and became a pillar of strength to the Protestant cause. Amid the desperate straits of the Smalcald war, he wrote to Myconius: "The Smalcald war is a Gordian knot. Still the Lord will untie it to the honor of His name and the good of His Church. Even should He give over His servants into the hands of the Emperor, the conquered will yet gain the victory over the conqueror. You know the ways of the Lord. The victory of Daniel at Babylon was more glorious than any victory of Jehoiachin or Zedekiah at Jerusalem would have been."¹

Bullinger's influence extended through a wide circle. As a friend of the persecuted he was brought into sympathetic relations with great numbers who suffered for their faith. Victims of intolerance from the jurisdictions of the Roman Catholic cantons, from Italy, from

¹ Pestalozzi, Heinrich Bullinger, *Leben und Ausgewählte Schriften*.

England, and other countries, were partakers of his generous hospitality. He was in correspondence with representatives of the Reformed Church in many quarters. He kept up quite active communication with England, especially during the reign of Edward VI., and some of his works were early translated into English.¹ In his attitude toward the English Establishment, he was sparing of criticism; and the counsels which he gave to the refugees who returned in the reign of Elizabeth were in accord with his very tolerant views respecting differences in externals. Thus the ministry of Bullinger, which reached beyond the term of forty years, was a benediction to the churches abroad, as well as to that of which he was the honored pastor and trusted guide.

II.—THE REFORMATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

Only a small portion of what may now be termed French Switzerland lay within the bounds of the Swiss Confederacy at the opening of the Reformation. Berne and Freyburg had some French districts under their jurisdiction; but the territory of the present French cantons, Neufchatel, Vaud, and Geneva, was outside the Confederacy. It was not till after a long time, and a great variety of political relations, that Neufchatel became an integral part of the Swiss Republic. Vaud

¹ The sermons, called *Decades* as being arranged in a series of tens, are an example. As late as 1586 the Southern Convocation ordained that every minister having cure, and being under the degree of master of arts and bachelor of law, should obtain a copy of these sermons in English or Latin, and read a portion of them each week (*Wilkins Concilia*, iv. 321).

was conquered by Berne from Savoy in 1536, and remained under its jurisdiction till the time of Napoleon. Geneva, which was perhaps the oldest city in Switzerland, had been for a long period under a somewhat mixed rule. As early as the tenth century, the bishop acquired the principal share in the sovereignty. At that time he recognized the general supremacy of the King of Burgundy. In the twelfth century the German Emperor took the place of the Burgundian King. But while the bishop, more than any other, had the immediate rule, he was obliged to contend with rivals. The counts of Geneva, who served to some extent as his agents in the management of temporal affairs, were disposed to encroach upon his prerogatives. In the disputes which followed, the citizens, by dexterous management of their relations to the contending parties, found opportunity to gain new privileges and franchises. During the thirteenth century another factor came on to the stage, — the counts of Savoy, who afterwards took the title of dukes. Ere long they supplanted the counts of Geneva. After the early part of the fifteenth century, they also succeeded in bringing the episcopal sovereignty into a subservient relation, through the practice of giving the episcopal office to one of their own family. Meanwhile the citizens asserted their right to a share in the government, and maintained such means of self-rule as a general council, a council of twenty, and a board of syndics. In the early part of the sixteenth century, the struggle took a decisive turn. It being the manifest design of the Savoyan duke to incorporate Geneva with Savoy, the party of independence bestirred itself, and put forth

every effort to foil his scheme. By alliance with Freyburg and Berne, they gained a complete victory. All connection with Savoy was abolished. The bishop was confined to ecclesiastical functions, and a republican constitution was introduced, the chief legislative authority being vested in a council of two hundred which was filled by the vote of the people. When Calvin came to Geneva in 1536, it appeared in the character of a Protestant republic, in alliance with Berne, but not yet a member of the Swiss Confederacy.

William Farel was the pioneer of the Reformation in French Switzerland. He was born at Gap in Dauphiny in 1489. The first incentive to the evangelical faith was received by him at Paris, under the tuition of Lefèvre. As he was led to study the Bible, his impetuous zeal for Romanism gave way before his astonishment at the disparity between it and the scriptural teaching. Soon he was as devoted to the new faith as he had been to the old, and he went forward to advocate its claims in no spirit of caution or compromise. By nature a man of action, courageous almost to the point of a reckless disregard of personal consequences, and withal gifted with a powerful address, he was well qualified to awaken men from the slumber of tradition. The timid and the time-serving looked upon him askance. To such a man as Erasmus he was perfectly intolerable. Probably he was not suited, in a high degree, to build up a symmetrical structure; but he excelled in the rough work of breaking up and preparing the ground. Driven out of France by persecution, after a brief sojourn in Basle and Strasburg, he began in 1526 to labor in the French districts under

the jurisdiction of Berne. His daring methods provoked fierce opposition, and his life was more than once endangered. But he kept in motion, renewed the attack when once defeated, and ended in triumph. By 1530 he had secured a good foothold for the Reformation in Neufchatel, as well as in other places of less importance.¹

Peter Viret, a disciple of Farel, and his co-laborer in French Switzerland, had similar experience of hardships. At one time he was nearly killed by an infuriated priest; and through all his later years, he suffered from the effects of poison which was designed to destroy both him and his brother evangelists. In disposition and in method of labor he was very different from Farel. He preferred quiet to the storm, tempered zeal with an appearance of moderation, and sought to win by persuasive address. The foundation of the important work at Lausanne was due mainly to him.

In Geneva, political and patriotic interests helped to prepare a door of entrance for the fearless preachers. The fact that the bishop had become a tool of the Duke of Savoy in the attempt to overthrow the liberties of the city was not helpful to the interests of Romanism. Not a few minds also were revolted by the notorious corruption of the Genevese priests and monks.² More-

¹ See C. Schmidt, *Wilhelm Farel und Peter Viret*.

² They seem to have shared liberally in the traits of libertines and banditti. In 1502 the police were obliged to break down the doors of the monastery to rescue young maidens whom the monks had kidnapped in open day upon the streets. Shortly before the year 1526, the people had occasion to storm the palace of the bishop to take from his grasp an honorable maiden upon whom with equal audacity and indecency he had laid violent hands. (Gaberel, as quoted by Stähelin in his *Johann Calvin*.)

over, the influence of Berne, whose friendship was indispensable on political grounds, afforded a strong support to those who favored a religious reform.

Farel made his first visit to Geneva in 1532. The council showed him a measure of consideration ; but as he came before the ecclesiasties, he encountered men more ready to mob than to listen. The scene is so characteristic of Farel's ministerial experience, that a part of it may well be introduced. The priests met him with the cry, "Come, give an account of yourself, you accursed devil of a Farel. What are you prowling around for, to involve every thing in disturbance? Who has called you to this city, and by what authority do you preach?" Farel answered, "I am no devil. I journey about to preach Jesus Christ, who died for our sins, and rose for our justification. I am sent of God as a herald of Jesus Christ, to preach Him to as many as will listen ; and I am ready to give an account of my faith if you will listen to me in patience. I am no disturber of the peace of this city. It is you, rather, who have filled not only this city but the world with confusion, through your maxims of men and your corrupt lives." At this response a bystander exclaimed, "He has uttered blasphemy. What need have we of any further witness? He is guilty of death ; into the Rhone with him ! It is better that this accursed Luther should die, than that all the people should be ruined by him." "Speak the words of God, and not of Caiaphas," replied Farel. The cries of execration and vengeance were now redoubled. It was with difficulty that the brave preacher escaped. One made a thrust at him with a dagger, and another attempted to fire upon him with

a gun. Farel was obliged to leave the city, but not to abandon the enterprise. A young man by the name of Froment was persuaded to renew the effort. He began as a teacher, and succeeded in collecting a small company devoted to the gospel, when the opposition became so fierce that he was obliged to leave. Berne made complaint over the treatment of the evangelists. Finally, the government of Geneva so far yielded, as to appoint a disputation (1534) for testing the merits of the new teaching. The Reformers won the day. Farel was allowed to preach in the city; and matters progressed so rapidly that in 1535 the council issued an edict abolishing Romish rites, and giving a legal sanction to the preaching of the gospel after the new mode.

In 1536, a cultured young man, twenty-seven years of age, stopped for the night at Geneva, intending to resume his journey on the morrow. Farel, who felt that the talents of the stranger would make him an invaluable ally to himself, found him out, and besought him to remain in Geneva. The young man, being far more disposed to scholarly retirement than to the harassing encounters of a public ministry, gave an emphatic refusal. Farel replied that he might, if he chose, selfishly confine himself to his studies, but the curse of God would rest upon him in so doing. Struck by the words of the fiery preacher, the young man yielded, and concluded to stop in Geneva. He began forthwith to deliver theological lectures, and was soon prevailed upon to accept the position of a pastor. This young man was John Calvin.

John Calvin (or Cauvin), born at Noyon in 1509, belonged to a family of middle rank and condition.

He distinguished himself as a youth by his studious and serious temper. He had little relish for the amusements of his companions, and reproved with much decision their disorderly conduct. At the age of twelve he was nominated to a chaplaincy, in accordance with the wide-spread custom of the age to bestow ecclesiastical titles and revenues upon mere children. Two years later he went to Paris, where he enjoyed superior facilities for education in the classics and the scholastic philosophy. Changing the direction of his studies, in accordance with the wishes of his father, he next devoted himself to the law at Orleans, where his remarkable ease of acquisition, aided by an astonishing memory, soon gained for him the honor of Doctor of Laws. At Bourges, where he continued his law studies, he learned more perfectly concerning Luther and his work. Having his attention directed to the Bible, he sought a mastery of Greek and Hebrew, for the sake of a more satisfactory understanding of the Word. Going a second time to Paris, he gave himself zealously to theological study, and espoused with full conviction the Protestant cause. His first work, given out when he was twenty-four years of age, was a tribute to his classical studies rather than to his religious zeal. It consisted of a commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*. But an oration which he composed near the same time (1538) for Nicolas Cop, to be delivered by the latter as the newly elected rector of the Paris University, had a very positive religious aim, — consisted, in fact, of a defence of the evangelical teaching. The delivery of the oration made a great stir. Cop and Calvin were obliged to flee. Two years later Calvin came to Basle. Here

was issued the first edition of his *Christian Institutes*. This work, though much expanded in later editions, contained the essential principles of the Calvinian system. After a short sojourn in Italy, at the court of the French princess Renée in Ferrara, Calvin found his way to Geneva. Not attempting an exhaustive consideration of his career, we notice a few of the more significant points respecting the Genevan Reformer.

1. CALVIN AS MAN AND THEOLOGIAN. — He is described as having been of medium stature, with a sallow complexion, and an eye of piercing brightness. He was much less a man of the people than Luther or Zwingli. In comparison with them, he might be termed aristocratic in his tastes. While capable of very lucid and edifying address, he was not gifted with the fervid popular eloquence either of the German or the Swiss reformer. Beza says that he despised mere eloquence, and was sparing in the use of words, though when he spoke it was always in choice phrase and to the point.¹

Calvin was also less the man of the family and the nation than Luther or Zwingli. The slightest acquaintance with him would lead us to expect no such full and warmly colored domestic scene as is presented in Luther's life, though there is no reason to question the happiness of his married life with Idelette de Bure, and his profound grief over her early death. While Luther was German from centre to circumference, and Zwingli appears emphatically under the guise of the Swiss patriot, Calvin stands comparatively apart from national associations. The characteristics of the French-

¹ *Life of Calvin.*

man are not conspicuous, and we should find but moderate difficulty in thinking of him as native to any one of a number of countries.

This is explained in large part by the subordination of the emotive element in Calvin, intellect being far less than the heart a mirror of the local and special. On the emotional side, his nature was undoubtedly less strong and rich than that of Luther. He had little of his poetic sensibility, and was a total stranger to his abounding humor. He was more self-controlled, but his wrath when once excited burned with even greater fierceness. While far from being habitually morose, as is manifest from the testimony of his associates, he lacked the art of easy accommodation to the standpoint of others. The accent of the censor was apt to be mingled with his counsels. "Through life he had a tone, in reminding men of their real or supposed delinquencies, which provoked resentment. To those much older than himself, to men like Cranmer and Melanchthon, he wrote in this unconsciously cutting style. There was much in the truthfulness, fidelity, and courage, which he manifests even in his reproofs, to command respect. Yet there was a tart quality which, coupled with his unyielding tenacity of opinion, was adapted to provoke disesteem. We learn from Calvin himself that Melanchthon, mild as he was naturally, was so offended by the style of one of his admonitory epistles, that he tore it in pieces."¹

We see here, however, the unconscious aggressiveness of a strong nature, rather than a selfish disregard for the feelings or interests of others. That in the

¹ G. P. Fisher, *History of the Reformation*.

central current of his life Calvin was eminently unselfish, is not to be questioned. Many a page in his history shows this. It was at the sacrifice of self that he entered primarily upon the rasping and harassing work of organizing the reform at Geneva. When driven out after two years, together with his colleagues, by the party opposed to their measures, he refused to take counsel with resentment. Consulting for the good of the congregation from which he had been exiled, he wrote to Farel that he would sooner depart entirely out of the way of his opponents, than by remaining in the neighborhood give any ground for the suspicion that he intended to repay them like for like.¹ When summoned back, after three years spent mainly in Strasburg, he looked upon the summons as a call to martyrdom. Writing to Viret respecting the proposed return, he said, "Why not rather submit to be crucified? It would be better to perish at once, than to be tormented to death in that chamber of torture."² Nevertheless, as soon as he was convinced that the interests of religion required it, he set his face toward Geneva. In some relations, it is true, the conduct of Calvin suggests a species of selfishness. The hardness with which he treated certain theological opponents seems to savor of an egoistic attachment to his own system of opinions. Very likely, in defending his system the natural wish to guard his own honor and intellectual supremacy mingled with other motives; still his main interest was to serve the truth rather than to

¹ Bonnet, Calvin's Epistles, English edition, Epist. xxii.

² Paul Henry, *Life of Calvin*, i. 249, in translation by Stebbing; Bonnet, Epist. xlvii.

exalt Calvin. Moreover, exhibitions of magnanimity on his part toward those of a different theological school are not wanting. For example, as, in 1544, Bullinger was about to reply to a violent attack of Luther upon the Swiss, Calvin admonished him to treat the German Reformer with moderation and respect, in consideration of his wonderful gifts and extraordinary services in overthrowing the realm of Antichrist. "I have often remarked," he wrote of Luther, "that, even if he should call me a devil, I would still hold him in such honor as to acknowledge him to be an illustrious servant of God."¹ In his relations with Melanchthon, also, he showed a very fair degree of liberality; indeed, he performed an act displaying much of personal and theological generosity. While the "*Loci Communes*" of Melanchthon was the only work of systematic theology which could come into competition with his "*Institutes*," and was, moreover, opposed to his position on the subject of predestination, he not only took pains to translate it into French, but also warmly commended it to his countrymen.

In intellect, Calvin was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men of the sixteenth century. The mere amount of the work which he accomplished in the space of about thirty years attests extraordinary capacity. His routine duties as teacher, preacher, and administrator, were such that it is difficult to conceive how there could have been time or strength for other tasks. In fact, however, the additional labors were of great compass. He carried on an extensive correspondence, responding with much pains-taking to the manifold inquiries which came from the great multitude that

¹ Bonnet, *Epist.* cxxii.

owned him as the master mind among all the leaders in the religious revolution. He assisted in preparing the translation of the Bible which passed into general use among the French Protestants, though his work in this line was of much less significance than that of Luther. His commentaries, distinguished for lucidity, terseness, and rational attention to the trend of each writing, covered the larger part of the Bible. Not a few controversial treatises came from his pen. Crowning all, was his great work in systematic theology, to which he gave the finishing touch five years before his death. As one surveys this list of achievements, he can readily credit Calvin with that mental trait of which Beza makes special note, — a memory of wonderful tenacity and promptness, which brought under control all the acquisitions gained through years of industrious research. Along with this was associated great keenness, logical vigor, and firmness of mental grasp. To an extraordinary degree, he was exempt from that haziness of view which involves a prolonged chance for change and amendment of opinions. "In the doctrine which he delivered at the first," says Beza, "he persisted steadily to the last, scarcely making any change."¹ And Scaliger has remarked that it is an astonishing fact that one who wrote so much as Calvin should have found no occasion to retract any thing.² Every one must allow that he laid hold upon a wide circle of truth with great vigor and precision. His system was strong, massive, and to a large degree consistent. The defect was that it was not broad enough to assign a due place to all important truths.

¹ Life of Calvin.² Stäbelin, I. 64.

The limitations which are conspicuous in the theological system of Calvin may be imputed in part to his age, and in part to his personal characteristics. From the one came the foundation tenet respecting divine sovereignty and predestination; from the other, the decisive rendering and resolute elaboration of that tenet. Usage has so interwoven the doctrine of irresistible divine decrees with the name of Calvinism, as almost to convey the impression that the Genevan Reformer was its originator. This is far from being the case. The doctrine was part and parcel of Reformation theology in its primitive stage. Luther and Zwingli expressed it in most unqualified terms. Even in the Roman Catholic Church, against whose legalism and theory of merit it was naturally employed by the Reformers, it held a place. Bellarmin taught it with qualifications which ameliorated it more in appearance than in reality. Still Calvin was peculiarly the champion of the doctrine. With Luther and Zwingli it was more a side thesis than a matter of central attention and repeated emphasis. The generosity of God, and the gratuitousness of His salvation, were the prominent points with the German Reformer. Calvin had the resolution to look at the reverse side of predestination. His hardy spirit, like that of Dante, peered unblanched into the abyss of reprobation. By force of natural disposition and juristic training, he was inclined to the standpoint of the law-giver. On this basis he wrought out his conception of God. A relative lack of the heart element left him with imperfect premises. Accordingly justice and sovereignty, which allow of no exception and no contingency, filled up too wide a compass in his

thoughts of Deity. He was more in fellowship with the spirit of the Old Testament than with that of the New, and drew from the former the majority of the texts upon which he discoursed, if we may judge from such sermons and homilies as have been preserved. Having determined his conception of God, Calvin made this the standard by which every thing else was to be measured. "He meditates and imagines," says Guizot; "and, if I dared, I would say he presents God to us and describes Him as if he knew Him thoroughly. He then summons man into the presence of God, and denies or calmly rejects every thing in him which does not accord with or cannot be adjusted to the God whom he has conceived and depicted. He denies the free-will of man, and affirms his predestination, because he imagines that man's free-will is opposed to the idea which he has formed of the omnipotence and omniscience of God, and that his predestination is necessary to it."¹ This describes very fairly the method of Calvin. It should be observed, however, that it does not express Calvin's own conception of his method. He had no thought of building on a speculative basis, but believed that every important item in his system was clearly dictated by the Word of God before which he bowed in profound homage.

Whatever the dogmatic defects or merits of Calvin's Institutes, it was well qualified to exert a powerful influence. Its tone of energy and confidence took captive a large proportion of the minds of that militant generation. Its grasp of biblical and patristic lore, and its cogency of argumentation, made it a dreaded

¹ St. Louis and Calvin.

instrument in the eyes of opponents. Florimond de Raemonnd described the work as "the Koran, the Talmud of heresy, the foremost cause of our downfall."¹ "In fact," says Kampschulte, "it was the common arsenal from which the opponents of the old Church borrowed their keenest weapons. No writing of the Reformation era was more feared by Roman Catholics, more zealously fought against, and more hostilely pursued, than Calvin's Institutes." The same author, who wrote as a liberal Roman Catholic, speaks highly of the literary characteristics of the work, and declares that it contains passages well worthy of comparison with the best pages which have been written by Pascal and Bossuet.²

2. THE PART OF CALVIN IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GENEVAN CHURCH AND SOCIETY. — Calvin, notwithstanding his preference for quiet and retirement, had too deep convictions, and too strong a sense of responsibility, not to be urged on to a certain ascendancy when once a public trust had been accepted. Doubtless his part in the Genevan administration has sometimes been exaggerated. His position was not exactly that of an Olympian Jupiter or an absolute dictator. Sharp and decisive measures were known at Geneva, independent of the agency of Calvin. The Genevese themselves were not disinclined to act with severe determination. At the same time it must be allowed that Calvin was in full sympathy with a rigor-

¹ F. W. Kampschulte, *Johann Calvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat* in Genf., i. 278.

² i. 274, 275.

ous scheme, that he sharpened the regulations at various points, and, above all, that he added an influence which secured a persevering execution of strong statutes.

It was directly after his return to Geneva from Strasburg, in 1541, that Calvin began to perfect the church system which is associated with his name. In working out his scheme, he seems to have been led by local exigencies to a measure of departure from his theory of the proper relation of Church and State. In theory he discarded both the mediæval or papal conception, which made the State a mere dependency or satellite of the Church; and the notion, too nearly approximated in some of the countries which had accepted the Reformation, that the Church is a dependency of the State. He viewed the two as properly co-ordinate powers, having each its own sphere, each rendering support to the other, but neither claiming supremacy over the domain of the other. As actually instituted at Geneva, however, the polity of Calvin did not fully guard the Church from the intrusion of the State. It was provided in his scheme, that a pastor should be nominated by the company of pastors already installed. It was then in order for the magistrates to confirm the choice, and to report it to the congregation for their acceptance. The pastors, together with the professors of the academy, formed a college having jurisdiction over matters more purely theological, such as the arrangement of courses of theological study, the examination of candidates, and the conducting of controversies. The same body also took a chief part in determining the order of worship. With the pastors there were associated, in another body called the con-

sistory, a number of laymen, the proportion being two of the latter to one of the former. This tribunal had charge of the discipline and the finances. In the fulfilment of the former function, it was armed with the most ample prerogatives. Every house was supposed to stand open to its visitation, and every member of the community must accept the correction or penance which it might impose for any offence against the laws of God. Where an evil seemed too deeply rooted to be eradicated by spiritual admonition or censure, the civil magistrate was expected to lend his aid. The lay members of the consistory, instead of being elected by the congregation, were chosen by the little council of the republic from its own members, and from those of the council of sixty and the council of two hundred. This evidently was unfavorable to the independence of the Church; but Calvin probably thought the arrangement necessary to insure the execution of a rigorous discipline.

Before Calvin had completed his ecclesiastical scheme, he was called to serve the state as a member of a commission for revising the constitution, and preparing a civil code. The commanding intellect of Calvin, and his juristic training, no doubt gave him the primacy in this commission, so that the outcome may be regarded as representing his views and preferences. The constitution was made to take on a more aristocratic cast. The existing assemblies were indeed retained; but the prerogatives of the larger receded toward the smaller, so that a preponderance of authority was vested in the little council, which was composed of not more than twenty-five members. As to the criminal code, it has

been remarked that one might describe it, more properly than the laws of Draco, as written in blood. Proceeding on the basis that whatever merits punishment in the sight of God ought to be punished in a Christian state, so far as it comes within the sphere of possible recognition, it laid down penalties with unsparing severity against all forms of immorality and vice. The code bears emphatically the stamp of Calvin. Yet it would seem not to have been a mere product of his individual will enforced upon an unwilling people; for it was continued after his death, and in some particulars was developed to a higher degree of severity.

Under the censorship of the consistory, and the rigors of the state code, Geneva was subjected to a course of training which has rarely, if ever, been paralleled. Simple neglect of religion, as well as despite to its claims, was attended with penalties. A person who forbore to take the sacrament when not forbidden was subjected to discipline. The sick, after three days' confinement, were required to give notice to the minister, that they might receive admonition and comfort at his hands. Card-playing, theatre-going, and dancing were put under the ban. Adultery and blasphemy were treated as capital offences. Expressions only indirectly indicative of disrespect toward God were subjects for investigation and penalty. A young husband was called to account because, when presenting to his bride a book on house-keeping, he had jokingly remarked that such a writing was the best psalm-book for her. In 1565 a woman was scourged because she sang common songs to psalm-tunes. In 1579 a gentleman of respectability was imprisoned twenty-four hours, because he had been found

reading the narratives of Poggio, and was compelled publicly to burn the book. Filial impiety was treated according to the prescriptions of the Mosaic code. A peasant boy, for reviling his mother and casting a stone at her, was publicly whipped, and suspended by the arms from the gallows as a token that he deserved death. Another child was beheaded for striking his parents. Another, for simply attempting to strike his parents, was condemned to death, but the capital sentence was afterwards exchanged for whipping and banishment.¹

A society never existed upon which such a yoke could easily be bound. It would have worn the appearance of miracle, if Geneva, which shortly before had been overflowing with corruption, had quietly conformed to the new pattern of living. It contained, in fact, powerful elements of insubordination. Some claimed license for dissenting theological opinions; a still larger number claimed wide license in their moral practice. Calvin suffered repeatedly opposition, insults, and attempts at intimidation, at least up to the year 1555. Matters came to such a pass that the dogs upon the street were set upon him, and he expected nothing else but that the struggle would end in his being killed.

Among the refractory elements with which Calvin had to deal, were the so-called Libertines. Some of these seem to have been ultra-spiritualists, and inclined to antinomian and pantheistic tenets. Others were distinguished by their democratic principles and their political opposition to the party of Calvin. These

¹ Henry and Stähelin.

opponents, after a severe struggle, were driven from the field.

A like fate befell the theological opponents, Castellio and Bolsec. The former was a man of culture, and excelled as a teacher of the classics; but he was not satisfied to confine himself to work of this order. He was ambitious for theological distinction, and with some intemperance of language declared for the rejection of Solomon's Song from the canon, and repudiated the representation of Christ's descent into hell. Calvin therefore opposed his request for recognition among the clergy. This irritated Castellio, and called out animadversions which were thought to be prejudicial to the peace of the Church. He was accordingly dismissed, though not without a show of consideration, as he took with him a recommendation from Calvin. At Basle, which was the scene of his future labors, Castellio carried his theological criticism to further results, and wrote against the doctrine of predestination. Bolsec, who, after leaving the order of the Carmelites, came to Geneva with the intention of practising medicine, made a direct issue on the same doctrine. Inasmuch as he proceeded in an opinionated and turbulent manner, his attempt to correct the Genevan theology speedily ended in his banishment. The cause, in this instance, was much better than the advocate. Bolsec was a man of shallow principles. He finally returned to the Roman Catholic Church, and expressed his zeal for its interests by providing a treasury of atrocious lies against Calvin and Beza.

But the opponent whom a terrible fate made far more conspicuous than any other, was Michael Servetus. He

was of the same age as Calvin, having been born in Spain in 1509. In talents and acquisitions he was a man far above the ordinary rank. He was educated to some extent in the law, made very considerable progress in the sciences, acquired reputation as a skilled physician, and occupied himself much with theology, which he had a great ambition to renovate. In respect of character, much less can be said in his favor. He was proud-tempered, overbearing, and given to unmeasured sarcasm in dealing with an opponent. He was also untruthful. At various junctures he flatly denied known facts, and for a series of years lived in hypocritical compliance with the outward requirements of the Roman Catholic Church, though he had previously renounced the faith of that church.

Servetus had scarcely reached his majority when his ardor for theological distinction came to a signal manifestation. As early as 1531, he published a work on the "Errors of the Trinity," which made him odious to both Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians, and gave him occasion to conceal his identity under an assumed name. The positive teaching in this treatise seems to have been of Sabellian cast, with some added eccentricities. About twenty years later he brought out anonymously a second work entitled the "Restoration of Christianity," in which he gave full vent to his opposition to the Trinity, and also revealed his bias toward the neo-Platonic pantheism. In the interval between these two publications, Calvin had made an unpleasant acquaintance with Servetus, who wished to enlist him for his novelties, and obtruded upon him a correspondence which finally became well stocked with

abuse and contempt. Some years before the final catastrophe, he had learned to regard Servetus as a turbulent, revolutionary character, and had written to Farel that if he carried out his proposal to come to Geneva, he would see to it, so far as he was concerned, that he should not get away alive.¹

The first arrest of Servetus came from the Roman Catholic side. He was apprehended at Vienne, and doubtless would have paid there the extreme penalty of heresy, if he had not managed to escape from his prison. The clew leading to his arrest was afforded by a French refugee living in Geneva ; and the documentary evidence which was necessary to prove the identity of Servetus, and his authorship of the obnoxious book published shortly before, was supplied by Calvin,—though, it would appear, not by his own choice, but reluctantly, and at the earnest solicitation of the refugee, who urged that his reputation for veracity would be compromised if he failed to establish his allegations.

As if driven on to his fate by a blind infatuation, Servetus, after escaping from prison, came to Geneva. He remained concealed for a time, and was just on the point of departing for Zurich when he was discovered, and at the instance of Calvin was arrested. In the protracted trial which ensued, Servetus was given a very fair opportunity to clear himself, or at least, to

¹ Bonnet, *Epist. cliv.*, in 1546. Calvin's words are as follows: "Servetus lately wrote to me, and coupled with his letter a long volume of his delirious fancies, with the Thrasonic boast, that I should see something astonishing and unheard of. He takes it upon him to come hither, if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word for his safety ; for if he shall come, I shall never permit him to depart alive, provided my authority be of any avail."

secure a mitigated sentence. He was asked to reply to the charges in writing, with the understanding that his answers should be submitted to the judgment of the principal churches of Switzerland. Instead of attempting to conciliate favor by a moderate statement of his views, he indulged freely in invectives against Calvin, and took no pains to retract expressions which were counted blasphemous, and which must still be so regarded from the standpoint of Trinitarianism. His tone was supremely adapted to exasperate his judges. The Genevese council accordingly was not inclined to show him any mercy, and condemned him, as a blasphemer as well as a heretic, to be burned at the stake. On the 27th of October, 1553, the fearful sentence was executed. The unhappy man endured the ordeal, at the last, with striking heroism.

Thus the heretic was silenced, but at what a price! For more than three centuries the smoke and flame which ascended about the tortured body of Servetus have cast back a lurid light upon the form of Calvin. Not even the memory of his great intellectual and moral traits can afford here any adequate shield to the stern theologian. His part in the deed of intolerance can never be excused. All that charity can do is to suggest the palliating considerations: (1) Servetus was no ordinary theological opponent. His tone was calculated to provoke intense animosity. While not above indulging in falsehood and hypocrisy, he wished to pose as the apostle of a renovated Christianity. He was not content to keep aloof from Calvin, but seemed bent upon crossing his path. The natural result was a resentment not easily repressed. That Calvin gave too

wide a scope to this resentment, and allowed it to cloud his conviction of duty, cannot fairly be questioned. At the same time, it is not necessary to suppose that he was moved mainly by personal feeling, or that, in the event of a recantation by Servetus, he would not so far have waived his radical dislike of the man as to vote for a good measure of indulgence toward him. His letter to Farel may indeed be quoted as counter evidence ; but words spoken in the heat of vexation cannot be taken as an index of settled and unalterable purpose. (2) Great opprobrium had been brought upon the Reformation by fanatical outbursts leading to bloody violence. The rejection of infant-baptism gave ostensible ground for associating Servetus with the Anabaptist enthusiasts. In any case, Calvin regarded him as a man of dangerous temper, a menace to the common interests of religion. (3) The cruel manner in which Servetus was put to death cannot be charged against Calvin. On the contrary, he requested, together with the clergy of Geneva, that the capital sentence might be executed in some mode less painful than burning. The responsibility for that phase of barbarity rests upon the civil authority.

One evil result of the tragedy was an incentive to support maxims of intolerance on the part of those who ought to have been the advocates of religious liberty. The practical necessity of sustaining Calvin in his mighty conflicts at Geneva made Protestant theologians more forward to sanction severity against heresy than otherwise they would have been. If this cause did not affect their theory on the subject, it did affect the expression of their theory. The most eminent repre-

sentatives of the Swiss churches thought it incumbent on themselves to commend the capital sentence against Servetus. Even Melancthon gave it also his approbation. Beza, who was then laboring at Lausanne, in answer to a plea for tolerance by Castellio, published a treatise in which he expressly defended the right of magistrates to put obstinate heretics to death. He could only reproduce the immemorial argument for intolerance; and his treatise in the light of the present age appears as a pretty lame production in comparison with that of Castellio, which was a skilful and able presentation of the claims of religious tolerance.¹

The trial of Servetus came near the acme of the struggle against the opposition party at Geneva. Shortly afterwards the Calvinian discipline was comparatively unchallenged. As to the merits of that discipline, it is quite obvious that it cannot be defended, as a whole, from the standpoint of modern times. It showed too little respect for the individual conscience, was too exacting and inquisitorial in spirit. Yet it was not without conspicuous benefits. It gave needed emphasis

¹ Castellio wrote under the name of Martin Bellius. A full abstract of his treatise is given by Baum in his "Theodor Beza," vol. i. It appears from the statement of Beza that the sentiments of Castellio found other advocates. In his *Life of Calvin* he says, "Scarcely were the ashes of that unhappy man [Servetus] cold, when questions began to be agitated concerning the punishment of heretics: some maintaining that they ought indeed to be coerced, but could not justly be put to death; others, as if the nature of heresy could not be clearly ascertained from the Word of God, or as if it were lawful to judge in an academic fashion of all the heads of religion, maintaining that heretics ought to be left to the judgment of God only. This opinion was defended even by some good men, who were afraid that if a different view were adopted they might seem to sanction the cruelty of tyrants against the godly."

to the maxim that morality and religion must be indissolubly joined. It nurtured the republic to a peculiar vigor and moral strength. From being one of the most corrupt cities on the Continent, Geneva became in important respects the most exemplary. Various witnesses have borne highly favorable testimony to the sobriety, widely diffused intelligence, and strict morality which might be observed there. In the next century after the death of Calvin, Valentin Andreaë expressed his admiration for the moral tone which he found pervading Genevan society.

3. INFLUENCE OF CALVIN OUTSIDE OF GENEVA.—When Calvin wrote the first edition of his Institutes, he had it in mind to serve the Protestant interest at large, rather than to absorb his energies in any local enterprise. And, notwithstanding the exacting demands placed upon him in Geneva, his ambition was fulfilled upon a much broader scale than he could have anticipated. As already indicated, Protestants in different countries felt that he was a pillar of strength to their cause; and Romanists feared his pen as one of the most formidable foes with which they had to contend. Geneva, under his hand, became a citadel and an arena, a refuge to which the fugitive might flee from persecution, and a training-school in which he might be equipped for heroic service. Philip II. expressed what many among the foes of the Reformation felt, when he wrote to the French King, respecting Geneva: "This city is the source of all mischief for France, the most formidable enemy of Rome. At any time I am ready to assist, with all the power of my

realm, in its overthrow."¹ The French Government on its part threatened to destroy the city if it did not keep its evangelists at home, and sent an ambassador to give notice to that effect. The evangelists, however, continued to pour forth; Calvin having assured the magistrates, that, inasmuch as the city depended upon the omnipotent God alone for protection, the highest prudence consisted in the most perfect obedience to His will. The scale on which Geneva exercised the function of a training-school may be estimated from the fact that at one time, according to the report of a contemporary, Calvin had regularly a thousand hearers for his theological lectures; and also by the fact that the Academy of Geneva, which was opened in 1559, enrolled during its first year nine hundred students. As far as into the eighteenth century, the academy was an important factor in educating the clergy of the Reformed Church in France and the Netherlands, as well as in Switzerland.

The reasons for the wide and penetrating influence of Calvin have been indicated in the account of his character and work. He organized an intellectual system for the reform movement, and gave incisive expression to the ideas which were struggling in the minds of his contemporaries. The masculine tone of his writings took a strong hold upon a great multitude of men, and infused into them something of his own energy and resoluteness of spirit. Having the temper of the law-giver, as well as that of the logician, he gave an unique stress to the ethical demands of Christianity, and urged powerfully the need of realizing the truth of God in

¹ Stähelin, II. 499.

practice, as well as acknowledging it in theory. Not a little of that stern practical energy, that readiness to carry out convictions, which has been manifested in various sections of the Reformed Church, was born of Calvin's spirit and teaching. Even the more sombre phases of the Calvinian creed, though certain sooner or later to be productive of undesirable results, were not without their stimulus in the era of conflict. The thought of the majestic predestinating God, who works with irresistible might, greatly strengthened the resolution of many a hardy soul.

The immense labors of Calvin involved premature exhaustion of body. During his last years, his face already bore, save in the undiminished glance of the eye, the impress of death. He passed away in peace on the 27th of May, 1564.

III.—BONDS OF UNION BETWEEN THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN SWITZERLAND AND ELSEWHERE.

The protracted efforts of Bucer to find a platform of union between the Swiss and the Lutheran churches proved abortive. The differences were too positive to be successfully wrapped up in the mist of ambiguous formulas, at least in an age which made so much account of dogmatic distinctions. But if union failed on that side, it was consummated in another direction, and the congregations which had been founded in Switzerland in the time of Zwingli, obtained recognition in a great sisterhood of churches, which bears in history the collective name of the Reformed Church, as distinguished from the Lutheran communions.

In the first place, the good understanding between Bullinger and Calvin paved the way for a bond of connection between the evangelical congregations in German and French Switzerland. If Bullinger did not prefer just the terms in which Calvin spoke of the Lord's Supper, he did not regard them as obnoxious, and therefore readily assented to his exposition of the subject as it appears in the Zurich Consensus, which was drawn up in 1549.

A more comprehensive bond of union was provided by Bullinger shortly after the death of Calvin. In the Second Helvetic Confession, which was published in 1566, he supplied a creed highly acceptable not only to the churches of Switzerland, but to the Reformed churches generally. Many of them, as those in France, Scotland, Poland, and Hungary, gave it their express sanction. Pestalozzi describes it as broad in its outlook, clear and simple in expression, pronounced in its rejection of Romish errors, mild in its attitude toward Lutheran peculiarities, and catholic in its appreciation for the historical continuity of the faith.¹ The Westminster Confession may be more massive, and may meet better the demands of scholastic rigor; but it is not so well adapted for prolonged use, not so near the proper standard for an oecumenical creed.

Another bond of association, rivalling in popularity the foregoing, was the Heidelberg Catechism, published at the instance of Frederic III. of the Palatinate, in 1563. "As a standard of public doctrine," says Schaff, "the Heidelberg Catechism is the most catholic and popular of all the Reformed symbols. The German

¹ Heinrich Bullinger, pp. 420, 421.

Reformed Church acknowledges no other. The Calvinistic system is herein set forth with wise moderation, and without its sharp, angular points. This may be a defect in logic; but it is an advantage in religion, which is broader and deeper than logic.”¹

¹ *Creeds of Christendom*, I. 540.

CHAPTER V.

PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE.

I. — THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF FRANCIS I. (1515-1547).

IN no country was the religious struggle more violent than in France. In other Romanic countries, — Italy, Spain, and Portugal, — Protestantism was speedily led as a lamb to the slaughter. It was too feeble to resist the temporal arm, and the bigotry of the great mass of the people prevented its gaining a permanent foothold by the use of spiritual weapons. But in France a more favorable field was opened for innovating opinions. Protestantism steadily advanced for about half a century. At length, it felt that it was no longer bound passively to endure the persecuting rigors of its rival. A resort was made to arms, and civil war followed civil war in rapid succession. The St. Bartholomew massacre was only the central and more bloody scene of a long-continued tragedy. Martyrdoms, tumults, and civil wars both preceded and followed that fearful outbreak. The most violent passions were stirred. Leaders highest in rank and influence fell by the hand of the assassin. The Protestant cause was, in some instances, stained by political intrigue and by acts of savage severity. Baron des Adrets, who, however, was not much

of a Protestant by conviction, and finally returned to the Romish ranks, was as cruel as the more intolerant upholders of the old Church, and repaid the atrocities which they perpetrated in Provence and Dauphiny, in the first civil war, with merciless rigor.¹

Though the French Government, in the sixteenth century, indulged in a series of intolerant edicts and barbarous acts, it can hardly be regarded as the centre of bigoted zeal in the realm. The repressive measures which it patronized were dictated as much by political as by religious interest. The focus of bigotry and religious animosity was located elsewhere than at the throne. Among the uncompromising upholders of the old faith was the Sorbonne, or theological faculty of the Paris University. The French doctors seemed to have made no progress since the council of Constance, where indeed they opposed the extreme pretensions of the papacy, but were among the foremost in urging on the process against Huss and Jerome. So the members of the Sorbonne advocated "Gallican liberties," that is, the privileges of the Church in France, as against papal control, but still were ready to burn men who dissented, even in slight measure, from the old faith. Seconding the zeal of the learned faculty was the

¹ Severity was with Des Adrets a matter of policy as well as of disposition. He claimed that it was necessary to make the adversary see that Protestants were not such abject creatures as to submit to murderous violence without resentment and retaliation (*De Thou, Historiarum sui Temporis, Lib. XXXI.*). While he was an efficient captain, the dishonor which he brought upon the cause more than counterbalanced his services. Martin has called Des Adrets "the Montluc of the Huguenots" (*Histoire de France, Livre LII.*). Blaise de Montluc was a Roman Catholic leader, who openly boasted that he had executed more Huguenots than any other royal lieutenant in France.

unthinking rage of the great mass of the Parisian populace. In the latter part of the century, the Jesuits brought their insinuating and fiery propagandism to bear, and helped to sustain the ardor of those who were bent on a policy of repression. Finally, the house of Guise re-enforced all these parties by supplying to them the efficacious bond of an able leadership. The men of this house may not have been animated by the most unqualified zeal for the Roman Catholic faith; but it suited their ambitions to make use of this zeal, and no doubt they partook of it themselves in some measure.

The French sovereign who began the period showed unquestionably, in the early part of his reign, a disposition quite other than that of the typical persecutor. His temper was remote from moroseness, rigor, and stern conservatism. There was scarcely so much as seriousness in Francis I. to give edge to his religious convictions. He was the friend of pleasure, of elegance, and splendor. Though able himself to boast of only a very humble share in culture, he was a generous patron of art and literature. The Italian magnates had taught him that herein were effectual means of giving lustre to his reign, and he went zealously to work to apply the lesson. He founded St. Germain, embellished Fontainebleau, commenced the Louvre, enlarged the royal library, founded the College of France as an offset to the illiberal scholasticism of the Paris University, pensioned distinguished exponents of the new learning, and invited in foreign artists, including some of the great geniuses of the Italian schools.¹ Evidently a man

¹ For a condensed sketch of the Renaissance under Francis I., see Lavallée, *Histoire des Français*, Livre II. sect. iv. chap. vi. § 4.

of this cast was not naturally disposed to extirpate all freedom of religious opinions. But at the same time he was far from being proof against temptations to persecute. He lived wholly in a worldly range; he had no high principles, his law was expediency. Apparent advantage, therefore, was all that was needed to incite him to persecute. And thus we have the record that the king who cultivated an alliance with foreign Protestants, and even with Turks, patronized merciless inflictions upon the Protestants in his own realm; that the fosterer of literature and art issued in one case a decree rivalling the demands of the most stupid foe of enlightenment.

The first beginnings of the Reformation in France, seem to have been quite as much a native growth as in any country. It was after the first seeds of the advanced opinions had been sown, that the influence of Luther came in to quicken the growth. At a later stage Calvinistic influence took the place of Lutheran. From the time that the French edition of his Institutes began to be circulated, Calvin was the intellectual master of the Protestant movement in his native country.

Humanism was closely associated with the initiation of the Reformation in France. Lefèvre, who had been teaching at the University of Paris nearly twenty-five years when Luther published his theses, joined with the new studies a sincere love for evangelical truth. As early as 1512, in the commentaries which he wrote on the Pauline Epistles, he gave quite distinct expression to the doctrine of justification by faith. At a later date we find him in full accord with the Reformers on the

supreme eminence to be accorded to the Scriptures over all other authorities, and on the necessity of placing them in the hands of the people.¹ Adding works to his faith on this subject, he projected and accomplished a translation of the New Testament. This was published in 1523, and was read, or listened to, with great eagerness by the common people, where opportunity was given, as we learn from a letter of Lefèvre to Farel.² Five years later he supplied also a French version of the Old Testament. These translations served as the basis which was improved upon by Olivétan, Calvin, and others.

The work of Lefèvre was supported by some distinguished sympathizers. Among these was Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux. As the reforming teacher and his friends, in 1521, found it expedient to leave Paris, on account of the vexatious opposition of the Sorbonne, Briçonnet gave them a ready welcome, and gladly employed their services in his diocese. Another friend of Lefèvre was the learned nobleman Louis de Berquin. A sympathizer with the evangelical group, still more distinguished in rank, was Margaret, sister of Francis I., a princess eminent at once for her talents and her virtues.³ Though hemmed in by her surroundings, she gave not a little of open expression to her approbation of Reformation.

¹ See his declarations in A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs dans les Pays de Langue Française*, I. 90, 91, 135, 136.

² Herminjard, I. 220, 221.

³ The extraordinary affection of Margaret for her brother has elicited comment. Martin doubtless gives the true account of it in its moral bearings, when he says of her passionate attachment, *dans cette âme naturellement honnête autant que tendre, resta un malheur et ne devint pas un crime* (*Histoire de France*, Livre XLVII.). A ground of disparagement might be found in a romantic work of Margaret, entitled the

mation principles. She submitted indeed to the rites of the Roman Catholic worship; but her writings,¹ as well as her disposition to shelter the Reformers, showed well enough the direction of her religious preferences. In the line of the same evidence is the fact that Jeanne d'Albret, her daughter by her second husband, came forward to take an illustrious place among the Protestant heroines of the sixteenth century.

The reform movement had not long been in progress at Meaux when persecution arose. Some of the chief promoters of the movement were found to be poorly prepared for the ordeal. Briçonnet quailed before the first alarms, abandoned his liberal sentiments, and even put forth his hand to repress the work of religious enlightenment which he himself had been urging forward.² As for Lefèvre, his course proved that he was better qualified to start others forward than to assume the leadership of a religious revolution. He was rather of a contemplative, than of a daring, belligerent nature. In 1525, with Roussel, who shared his temper and his fortunes, he retreated before the rising storm, and took refuge in Strasburg. A year or two later, the friendship of the King secured his recall to France. Under

Heptameron. This undoubtedly is too much in the vein of Boccaccio to suit a healthy moral taste. But the evidence appears to be conclusive that its faults sprang rather from the influence of the models before her, and from defective notions of literary diversion, than from any real affinity with moral laxity.

¹ Among her writings a poem, entitled the "Mirror of the Sinful Soul," was so evangelical in tone, that it was honored by the doctors of the Sorbonne with their censure, though afterwards they were very ready to disown their act (*Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Reformées au Royaume de France*, édition nouvelle, Paris, 1883, I. 23, 24). This history has been attributed to Beza.

² Herminjard, i. 153-158, 171.

the royal protection and that of Margaret, who was his devoted patron, he was comparatively safe from molestation. While, however, Lefèvre did not retract his reformed views, he did not champion them with openness and vigor; and the report that his last days were embittered with some poignant reflections over his lack of heroic decision seems to be well authenticated.¹ In Louis de Berquin, persecution found a more unbending subject. He was a man in whom culture and character, the tastes of the humanist and the spirit of the confessor, were harmoniously combined.² "In the purity and benevolence of his life," writes Martin, "he was a saint, in learning an eminent doctor, in energy and activity a man qualified for leadership."³ From the tuition of Lefèvre, De Berquin passed to that of Luther, some of whose writings he rendered into French with annotations. He began also to express himself with much decision in original treatises. The inevitable consequence was, that the heresy-hunter was soon upon his track. The blustering zealot Beda, syndic of the Sorbonne, stirred up the authorities; and as early as 1523, De Berquin was cast into prison. As he had no disposition to recant, it seemed probable that he would earn the honor of being the first martyr of the Reformation in France, when the orders of the King, who entertained for him a friendly regard, secured his release.

¹ H. M. Baird, in his singularly thorough work, *History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France*, i. 95, 96.

² Ranke says, "Of all men then living, Louis de Berquin was perhaps the one who most vitally united the ideas of Erasmus with those of Luther" (*Französische Geschichte*, i. 186).

³ *Histoire de France*, Livre XLVIII.

The fate which De Berquin escaped overtook ere long a number of more humble victims. Several were burned at the stake in 1525. Such was the lot of the wool-carder Leclerc, who had been converted by the evangelical labors at Meaux. Animated by a zeal which outran his discretion, he tore down a proclamation of indulgence. For this offence he was branded on the forehead with a hot iron. Later, by breaking the images in a chapel, he brought upon himself such a frenzy of rage as could be appeased only in the consuming flames. He was burned at Metz. Another confessor—the Augustinian monk, Jean Châtellain—paid the same penalty at Metz. Wolfgang Schuch, a German pastor, was sent to the stake at Nancy. In Paris, large crowds witnessed the martyrdom of the young scholar Pauvan, and of an inoffensive recluse who is known only as the Hermit of Livry.

These executions were effected during the absence of the King, while the regency was in the hands of his mother, Louise of Savoy. Perhaps the mere absence of the King had little to do with the fate of most of the victims. But it is certain that the calamity which befell his army under the walls of Pavia in 1525, and his own captivity at Madrid, stimulated the zeal of the authorities against heresy. Bigoted Romanists were very ready to impute the national calamities to the Divine displeasure against a tolerance of error. Policy agreed with this interpretation, and urged to such measures as would please the Pope and secure the loyal devotion of the clergy. Accordingly a fresh stimulus was given to persecution, and the scheme for the apprehension and punishment of heretics was brought into

a greater conformity with the methods of the Inquisition than had previously been allowed by public sentiment.

Under these conditions, the attempt to destroy De Berquin was naturally renewed. Again he found his way to the prison. But once more the eager desire for vengeance was obliged to submit to a delay. The intercession of Margaret, and the orders of the King, secured a stay of proceedings; and finally, some months after the return of Francis from captivity, the reformer was set at liberty. He enjoyed, however, only a brief respite. To replenish his exhausted treasury, Francis became the ally of the clergy, and engaged to support them in their efforts to extirpate heresy. When De Berquin was arrested a third time, the King, though earnestly solicited by Margaret, made no effort to interpose. By hurrying through his process and sentence, the judges were able to escape challenge, and to bring the daring agitator to the stake, where he was first strangled and then burned. A letter of Erasmus assures us that De Berquin met his fate in a manner worthy of his record and his cause. "Neither by a look nor by any motion of his body did he give a sign of mental agitation. You would have said that he was engaged in the investigations of the study, or in the heavenly meditations of the sanctuary. Not even when the executioner with rude voice declared his crime and punishment did his countenance indicate any faltering in his constancy. Free from all appearance of audacity or ferocity, he manifested the tranquillity of a mind conscious of its own pure intention."¹

¹ Herminjard, ii. 85.

Francis I. still had the grace or the discretion to reject some of the counsels of intolerance which came to his ears. Yet he was so far accessible to such advice as to allow his reign to be stained by acts of savage severity. In 1535, irritated by the placards against the mass which had been posted at Paris in the latter part of the preceding year, he gave the sanction of his presence to a barbarous spectacle at the metropolis, in which six persons were burned to death with special refinements of cruelty.¹ Some days before, he had put on record an expression of zeal absurd in itself, and especially absurd in the patron of learning, — an edict prohibiting any exercise of the art of printing in France.²

The succeeding years witnessed new spectacles and new edicts. If Protestantism was not hunted out and burned to ashes, it was not because the King refused the necessary legal support to the work of inquisition and destruction. In 1540 came the severe edict of Fontainebleau; while the year 1545 witnessed the crowning atrocity of the reign of Francis I., the slaughter of the Vaudois or Waldenses in Provence. Here the responsibility lay with subordinates more than with the King. Influenced by false and malicious reports, he withdrew his protection. This was all that was needed to let in the full violence of the flood which had been gathering for a number of years against this innocent and exemplary people. An armed force under Baron

¹ A machine was employed by which the victim was alternately lowered into and withdrawn from the flames (Garnier, *Histoire de France* par Velly, Villaret, et Garnier, xii. 554).

² Garnier, xii. 553, 554; Baird, i. 169.

d'Oppède, president of Provence, broke into their country. Neither age nor sex was regarded. Several thousands were butchered, several hundreds condemned to the galleys, and more than twenty towns laid utterly waste.¹ As was usual in all similar cases of Roman Catholic barbarity, the agents of these horrors escaped unscathed. An elaborate trial indeed followed in the next reign; but the chief criminals were acquitted, and one subordinate agent paid with his life for the massacre of thousands.²

The river of blood which flowed in Southern France did not satiate the desire elsewhere for vengeance upon the heretic. The very next year occurred the breaking-up of a congregation in Meaux, and the burning of fourteen of its members. A representative of the Sorbonne preached a sermon in connection with the tragedy, in which he declared that God would not be God if he did not consign the fourteen heretics to eternal damnation.³

Surely it was no flowery pathway which the Reform pursued during the reign of Francis I. It passed through the fire, but for its purification rather than for its destruction. As Mezeray has remarked, "For two that were put to death, a hundred sprang from their ashes."⁴

¹ Some of the details are given in the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, i. 54-64.

² Mezeray, *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, iii. 191.

³ *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, i. 69, 70.

⁴ III. 142.

II.—THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN
OF HENRY II. (1547-1559).

Henry II., who succeeded Francis I., was more distinguished for skill in bodily exercises than for strength either of intellect or character. His lack of ability, and his surroundings, made it apparent from the first that the sceptre would be held for him rather than by him. The only question was, who among the crowd of aggressive favorites should gain the most influential and controlling positions. A short time only was needed to supply an unmistakable answer. Those at all acquainted with the course of events were made aware that the elect instruments for ruling France were an avaricious harlot and an unprincipled ecclesiastic. Diana of Poitiers, who completely eclipsed the Queen (Catharine de Medici), and the Cardinal of Lorraine were foremost in influence at the unhallowed court of Henry II.¹ The Constable Montmorency and the Marshal Saint-André held also a conspicuous place.

The Cardinal of Lorraine represented the house of Guise. In the preceding reign, great favors had been bestowed upon this house. Claude, Duke of Guise, had been made lieutenant of the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy, and his brother John had been loaded with ecclesiastical benefices in scandalous profusion.²

¹ Mezeray says, "Almost all the vices which ruin great states, and which draw down the wrath of Heaven, reigned in his court, — luxury, unchastity, libertinism, blasphemy, and a curiosity as foolish as impious, which prompted a search into the secrets of the future by the detestable illusions of magic arts" (iii. 227).

² "Even an age well accustomed to the abuse of the plurality of offices was amazed to see John of Lorraine at one and the same time Archbishop of Lyons, Rheims, and Narbonne, Bishop of Metz, Toul,

Claude left six sons. Francis, who succeeded as Duke of Guise, was a man of bold and martial temper. Though ambitious, he was but moderately inclined to tortuous arts, and doubtless would have made a better record, had it not been for the influence of his brother Charles, who undertook the part of chief engineer in the project of aggrandizing the house of Guise. Charles, who was made Archbishop of Rheims at an early age, and bore the title of Cardinal of Lorraine after the year 1550, was no doubt a man of exceptional talents, shrewd, ready in address, affluent in expedients. As respects morals, he would not in general rank as a man of scandalous life, at least before the standard of that age. He was rather punctilious in his attention to the outward observances of religion. But of religion as the enthronement of truth and conscience he knew nothing. He abased himself to pay court to Diana of Poitiers. In one and another instance he practised the most brazen hypocrisy. According to the ample testimony of contemporaries, he was untrustworthy in his promises, slow to reward favors, quick to resent injuries. While the insinuating arts of the Cardinal were employed to advance the house of Guise, it was greatly exalted by flattering alliances. Connection with royalty was established by the marriage of Mary, the eldest daughter of Claude, with James V. of Scotland, and later by the marriage of her daughter, the famous Queen of Scots, to the heir of Henry II. It was also

Verdun, Therouenne, Luçon, Alby, and Valence, and Abbot of Gorze, Fécamp, Clugny, and Marmoutier. To gratify the French monarch, Pope Leo X. added to the dignity of the young ecclesiastic by conferring upon him the cardinal's hat a year or two before he had attained his majority" (Baird, i. 267).

a gratification to the vanity of the Guise family, if without substantial benefit, that the crown of England was claimed for the Queen of Scots. On the death of Mary Tudor, the right of Elizabeth was called in question; and Mary Stuart, with her husband Francis II., openly bore the ensigns of English royalty.

The reign of Henry II. witnessed the accession to Protestantism of some distinguished names. In Anthony of the house of Bourbon, the husband of Jeanne d'Albret and titular king of Navarre,¹ and his brother Louis, Prince of Condé, it gained adherents of royal lineage. As respects Anthony, however, his espousal of Protestantism was of little moment. He proved to be a weak and wavering convert, and shamefully deserted the cause in the hour of need. Louis was a much more decided adherent. He was not indeed a faithful exponent of the temper of French Protestantism in the heroic age. The charge is not wholly groundless, that he was a Calvinist in faith rather than in morals.² He was capable, nevertheless, of the noblest impulses. If he was accessible to temptation in the time of prosperity, his spirit rose in adversity and danger to the height of a splendid daring and hardihood.

Another house, less in rank than the preceding, but not less in honor, made an invaluable contribution to the Reform. Rarely has it been the good fortune of a single family to supply to any cause such a combination of virtues as appeared in the three brothers, Odet,

¹ Spain under the grasping Ferdinand had absorbed most of the kingdom of Navarre.

² Mezeray, iii. 234.

D'Andelot, and the Admiral Coligny, of the house of Châtillon. Odet was a man of exemplary life, who broke through the restraints naturally imposed by the high office of cardinal, and openly indicated his favor toward the Protestant faith. D'Andelot combined with the traits of the brave and competent soldier a good degree of moral intrepidity and steadfastness. An indication of his spirit was given when Henry II. asked him, in consideration of the honors which had been conferred upon him, and of his own welfare, to renew his allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. D'Andelot replied that his body, his earthly dignity, and his wealth were at the disposal of the King; but that in a question of religion, it was necessary to obey God, the superior Lord, to whom alone the soul is properly subject.¹ The Admiral Coligny ranks, by common consent, as the noblest pillar of the Protestant cause in the era of the civil wars. In him the seriousness and energy of the Calvinistic faith were finely tempered by a natural breadth and magnanimity of spirit. He was unbending in principle, without being harsh or intolerant. As a general, he evinced his stanchness and ability by the unconquered resolution with which he rose above defeat, and prepared for new conflicts. As a disciplinarian, he brought into the ranks of the Huguenots a sobriety, and an attention to the claims of religion, which a Cromwell or a Gustavus Adolphus might have cited as models for their armies. As a patriot, he abhorred civil

¹ De Thou, *Hist. Sui Temporis*, Lib. XX., anno 1558. D'Andelot, it is true, was afterwards induced to render a partial acquiescence to the demands of the king; but it was a compliance which was speedily repented of, and never repeated.

conflict, and entered upon it with great reluctance, under the pressure of what he considered to be the claims of the truest loyalty. As a Christian, he followed the dictates of simple-hearted devotion, the path of honesty, of candor, and of unswerving adherence to his convictions. With the praise of Coligny should ever be associated the name of his noble wife, a woman who combined with the tenderness befitting her sex the heroic spirit of a Deborah.¹

While there was no excess of religious ardor in the King or his courtiers, to stimulate to persecution, they still felt the impulsion of adequate motives. Possibly, oblivious of the distinction between God and Moloch, they thought by the sacrifice of the heretic to atone in some measure for the vileness of their own lives. Certainly they were urged on by lust after the confiscated goods of the proscribed. Unimpeachable evidence makes it plain that this motive lay back of much of the inquisition after blood in the reign of Henry II.²

Several attempts were made, under this sovereign, to improve the already ample facilities for the detection and punishment of dissenters. In 1547 a special chamber was established in the Parliament of Paris, to try the accused. That the new tribunal was not idle, may be judged from the name which it came to bear, — *la chambre ardente*.³ Edicts were passed in 1549 and 1551, enlarging the prerogatives of ecclesiastical judges

¹ Referring to the scene in which she urged her husband to gird on the sword in behalf of the oppressed children of God, Martin remarks, "Never did the ideal of Corneille himself surpass this reality" (*Livre LII.*).

² Baird, I. 282, 283; Martin, xlix.

³ *Histoire Eccl.*, i. 87.

in cases of heresy, and limiting the privilege of appeal. In the following years, attempts were made, under the advice of the Cardinal of Lorraine, to introduce the Inquisition after the Spanish model. Inquisitors-general were finally appointed in 1557; but happily, the Parliament of Paris had enough of independence and patriotic feeling to neutralize, in a measure, the effort to set this engine of despotism into efficient activity.

Martyrdoms followed plentifully in the wake of the intolerant edicts. Near the beginning of Henry's reign, Paris was diverted with a renewal of the spectacle of 1535. The King himself was led by zeal or curiosity to take part in the scene, and attempted to question one of the victims, a poor tailor. He met, however, with a bitter reward for his pains; for such answers were given as put both him and his mistress to shame. Moreover, the martyr, as he was subjected to the fiery ordeal, gazed with such a steadfast look upon the King, that the latter for a long time was most unpleasantly haunted by his image, and resolved never again to be present at such a spectacle. Many other places imitated the example of the metropolis, and were edified beyond their expectation or desire by the bearing of the victims. A peculiarly intense impression was made by the victorious faith and joyful constancy of the "Five Scholars" from Lausanne, who were burned at Lyons in 1558.

The peace which Henry II. concluded with Philip II. of Spain in 1559 was commonly interpreted by the Protestants as an omen of attack. Nor were they at fault in this surmise. The rumor of secret articles, in which the two sovereigns pledged each other to exter-

pate heresy, may have been unfounded. But it is an undoubted fact, that with either sovereign, one motive for consummating peace was the desire for a more complete opportunity to destroy Protestantism, root and branch. As in Spain, so also in France, the first-fruits were soon reaped. Several members of Parliament, who had the courage to tell the King to his face that the government would be quite as well occupied in correcting the enormous abuses in the Church as in punishing loyal and upright men who died with the Saviour's name upon their lips, were cast into prison. The most distinguished of these, Anne du Bourg, was finally sent to the scaffold. His death was in effect as that of Samson, though in spirit more after the pattern of the new dispensation. The high rank of the man, his reputation for exceptional probity, and the heroic fortitude with which he met his fate, produced in many minds an extraordinary recoil against the sanguinary methods of the persecutor.¹

The King, notwithstanding the resolution which he had formed in 1549, promised himself the gratification of beholding with his own eyes the execution of Du Bourg. He also had it in mind, to make an extended

¹ Florimond de Raemon, who wrote as a bitter foe of Protestantism, has left this record of the impression made by Du Bourg's death: "I remember when Anne du Bourg, counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, was burned, that all Paris was astonished at the constancy of the man. As we returned to our colleges from the execution, we were melted in tears; and we pleaded his cause after his death, anathematizing those unjust judges who had justly condemned him. His sermon at the gallows and upon the funeral pile did more harm than a hundred ministers could have done" (Baird, i. 373). De Thou speaks in high terms of Du Bourg, and says that his ashes may be regarded as the soil from which sprang the ample crop of civil disturbances in the following years (Lib. XXIII.).

tour through his kingdom to superintend in person the work of exterminating his Protestant subjects. But neither part of his plan was fulfilled. His own summons came before that of Du Bourg. In the midst of the glitter and rejoicings of a marriage *fête*, he was stricken down. The festival torches were suddenly turned into funeral tapers. Henry II. died on the 10th of July, 1559, from a wound received in a tournament.

Besides the testimony respecting the effect of Du Bourg's death, there are many other indications that the sensibilities of the people had not been hardened by the repeated sight of tortured victims. In the reign of Henry II., no less than in that of Francis I., martyrdom was a fruitful source of expansion to Protestantism. Again and again the triumph was with the victim rather than with the executioner. "Many expired in ecstasy, insensible to the refined cruelties of the feasters upon human flesh, who invented tortures to prolong their agony. More than one judge died of consternation or remorse. Others embraced the faith of those whom they sent to the scaffold."¹ Protestantism was beginning to include no inconsiderable fraction of the nation. In 1558 it is said to have counted no less than four hundred thousand adherents. The next year, provision was made for its consolidation and continued growth, in the work of the first national synod, which met at Paris, and adopted, along with a presbyterian scheme of church government, the "French Confession."

Up to the end of the reign of Henry II., the record of French Protestantism was, for the most part, that of

¹ Martin, Livre L.

suffering patience. The political and martial elements which entered into its later history had not yet appeared. Its adherents were an elect band who lived purely, and were prepared to die heroically. A Roman Catholic historian of the time says of them, "They comported themselves as the pronounced enemies of luxury, of public festivities, and of the follies of the world, which were all too prevalent among the Catholics. In their societies and at their banquets, one found neither music nor dancing, but discourses from the Bible, which lay upon the table, and spiritual songs, especially the Psalms as soon as they were brought into rhyme. The women, with their modest apparel and bearing, seemed like sorrowing Eves or penitent Magdalens, repeating in their lives the description which Tertullian gave of the women of his age. The men appeared dead to the world, and filled with the Holy Spirit. Each was a John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness. The outward demeanor expressed only humility and obedience. They sought to gain a place for themselves, not by cruelty but by patience, not by killing but by dying, so that in them Christianity in its primitive innocence seemed to be restored."¹

¹ Florimond de Raemon; quoted by Soldan, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Frankreich*, I. 206. We may add here, in connection with the reference to the Psalms, that the versions of Marot and Beza were at once efficient means of religious inspiration in adherents, and incitements to the attention of outsiders. We have accounts of large crowds upon certain public grounds at Paris being diverted from other forms of recreation, and gathering about those who sang in French verse the noble lyrics of the Psalter. So apparent was the effect, that the government was called upon to put a stop to the singing (*De Thou*, Lib. XX., anno 1558; *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, I. 167).

III. — PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY II. TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. (1559-1589).

Francis II. was but sixteen years old at his accession, and his competency to rule was not at all in excess of his years. While, therefore, he served as a figure-head, it was necessary that the government should be in other hands. The promptness and dexterity of the Guise brothers forthwith determined what hands should hold the reins. They secured — it might be said *usurped* — the control of affairs, though it was under cover of the King's formal approbation that they proceeded. Next to them in influence stood the queen-mother, Catharine de Medici. Previously she had been held in the background. Now she came to the front, and began the political manœuvring which has earned for her an evil immortality. Her career henceforth was one of duplicity, ending in a crime which for horror and heartlessness has but few parallels in history. Still, dark as is the record, it is not probable that Catharine was, in natural bent, a person of extraordinary depravity. Under favorable conditions, she would have earned no unusual measure of opprobrium. But she was not fitted for the exercise of power, and least of all for its exercise amid the distracting conditions of the time, in the face of exigencies which would have taxed the clearest judgment as well as the soundest moral sense. The fatal defect in her moral composition was an utter lack of high principles. Having no better standard than mere policy, and being destitute at the same time of the broad and penetrating glance which might reveal the way of the truest discretion, she was driven hither

and thither by the seeming demands of expediency; perfidious not so much because she loved falsehood, as because she was blind to all demands of truth and virtue where they stood in the way of apparent advantage.¹ Nurtured in the school of Machiavelli, she heartily imbibed his maxims of state-craft. While she had no fanaticism to provoke to cruelty, the claims of humanity were of little account in her eyes. "Success was her only god."²

In the last days of Francis II., whose short reign ended the year after it was begun, another factor — and one very different from either of those mentioned — was brought into the government in the person of the chancellor, Michel de l'Hospital. A man of insight, and a friend of tolerance, he sought to act the part of a mediator, to curb the rage of parties, to work toward the mutual recognition of the two religions instead of the suppression of either. During the eight years that he had a part in the government, he placed the Protestants under great obligations, not only by opposing the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, but by advocating various positive concessions to their worship.

Just before the induction of L'Hospital into his office (1560), great hazard and opprobrium were brought upon the Protestant cause by an ill-advised rising, — the so-called conspiracy or tumult of Amboise. The immediate leader of the project was a nobleman by

¹ Anquetil well says, *Elle ne fut méchant pour le plaisir de l'être, ni bonne par principe ou par une pente naturelle; ses vertus et ses vices dépendirent toujours des moments et des circonstances* (*Histoire de France*, v. 37; compare Soldan, I. 385, 386).

² Martin, *Livre LIII*.

the name of La Renaudie. It is not improbable that Condé knew something of what was in preparation; but Coligny and his brothers had no connection with the enterprise, and it was strongly discountenanced by Calvin. The movement was not at all designed to be an assault upon the crown. In all the struggles that followed, the Protestants never entertained the thought of dethroning a legitimate sovereign. It was left to Roman Catholics to make that attempt. In the present instance, the design was to drive the Guise brothers from their overgrown influence in the government. Many Roman Catholics, as well as Protestants, regarded them as scarcely better than usurpers. They were looked upon as having crowded themselves into the place which by law and precedent belonged to the princes of the blood, so that an attempt to expel them from the control of affairs would be no real exhibition of disloyalty.¹ As the project was betrayed before it reached maturity, it totally failed, and drew after it the wretched consequence of a long list of executions. Condé narrowly escaped being numbered with the victims. Though he cleared himself when first challenged, he was subsequently apprehended, and condemned to the scaffold,—a sentence which the implacable hatred of the Guise brothers would doubtless have carried

¹ The answer which the intrepid Castelnau returned, as his sentence importing that he had been guilty of treason was read, indicates the standpoint of his party. "I am innocent," he said, "of this crime, since I am conscious of having undertaken nothing against the King, his mother, his wife, his brothers, or any of his relatives. To have taken arms against the Guises, foreigners who have usurped the public administration in violation of the laws of the realm, cannot be treason, unless these men have been proclaimed kings of France" (*De Thou*, Lib. XXIV.).

through, had it not been for the speedy death of the King.¹

In the first years of the reign of Charles IX. (1560–1574), Catherine de Medici held the regency. For an interval, her counsels were less dominated by the house of Guise than they had been in the previous reign; and the result appeared in some concessions to the Protestants. An edict was issued in 1561, in which banishment was specified as the extreme penalty for simple heresy. A still further show of tolerance was given the same year by an invitation to the Protestant theologians to take part in a conference at Poissy. Theodore Beza, from the Academy of Geneva, appeared here as a chief defendant of the Reformed faith, — an office for which he was admirably qualified by his great learning, his ready address, and his engaging manners. As he entered the hall with his party, a scoffing opponent muttered, “There come the Geneva dogs.” Beza overheard the compliment, and replied, “Yes, indeed; faithful dogs are needed in the sheepfolds of the Lord, to bark against the prowling wolves.”² The disputation probably changed the convictions of very few. That it did

¹ After the tumult of Amboise, the term *Huguenots*, as a designation of French Protestants, became current. Various theories as to the origin and significance of the name have been entertained. Perhaps the most probable conclusion is, that it was a corruption of *Eidgenossen* (confederates), a designation which had been applied to the republican and reform party in Geneva, which made alliance with the German Swiss to throw off the yoke of Savoy. It may have been used with the intent to stamp French Protestants as a republican and revolutionary faction. But great obscurity envelops the origin of the term. (See Soldan, I. 336, 337, 608–626; Martin, Livre LI.)

² J. W. Baum, *Theodor Beza*, ii. 238. Baum gives a very complete account of the conference of Poissy. See also *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, i. 530–580.

not prejudice the cause of the Huguenots with the government, is evidenced by the fact, that, in January of the next year, the most tolerant measure yet devised — the edict of St. Germain — was issued. Therein the right was accorded to the new sect to assemble unarmed congregations, for purposes of worship, outside the walls of towns. This naturally was grievous in the sight of zealous Romanists. To their minds it seemed a monstrous thing that there should be two religions, two church organizations, within the same realm. They began at once to bestir themselves to nullify the January edict. In order to forestall the intervention of the German Protestants, the Cardinal of Lorraine and the Duke of Guise sought a meeting with Christopher of Württemberg and some of the leading Lutheran theologians. At this meeting, the Cardinal, while he expressed his dislike of Calvinism, made it appear that he was very well satisfied with the Augsburg Confession. He played, in fact, the rôle of a wholesale hypocrisy, which was too transparent in its selfish intent to have even the merit of shrewdness. The Duke followed in the wake of his brother's craft, and joined with him in the pledge not to persecute the partisans of the new faith in France. Less than a fortnight after this promise was given, occurred the massacre at Vassy (March 1, 1562). Under circumstances which indicate a guilty connivance on the part of the Duke of Guise, if not unqualified responsibility, a troop of his fell upon a Huguenot congregation comprising women and children, as well as men, and killed about sixty of them, besides wounding a hundred more. Intense excitement naturally followed. The cry of the murdered victims

may truly be said to have resounded throughout France, — to the Huguenots a stimulus to bitter resentment and gloomy apprehensions, to bigoted Roman Catholics an incitement to new atrocities. Voices were raised demanding redress for the outrage. It was on this occasion that Beza spoke to Anthony of Navarre, who was then siding with the party of Guise, these memorable words: "Sire, it befits the Church of God, in whose name I speak, to suffer, rather than to give, blows. But you should remember that it is an anvil which has worn out many hammers."¹ It was much easier, however, for a persecuted minority to ask for redress than to obtain it. Shortly afterwards, another massacre, quite as barbarous as that of Vassy, occurred at Sens.

It was under these provocations that the wrath of the Huguenots broke out into iconoclastic violence on a large scale. "Less barbarous, in general, than their adversaries, toward men, their rage was implacable toward things."² The impulse to destroy whatever was deemed an object of idolatry urged them beyond the control of pastors and leaders. The fact that the Roman Catholic populace, as in the massacre at Sens, were incited to increased fury and bloodthirstiness by manufactured reports of miracles in connection with

¹ De Thou, *Lib. XXIX.*

² Martin, *lii.* The honest and serious intent back of some of the vandalism is evidenced by the story of the soldier at Orleans. Condé ordered him to desist from his attempt to reach and break an image placed at some distance above the pavement, and emphasized his command by pointing an arquebuse. But the soldier persisted, saying, "Have patience until I have destroyed this idol, and then you may slay me if you will" (*Hist. Ecclésiastique*, *li. 51*).

images,¹ did not tend to soften their antipathy against the emblems of an idolatrous worship.

^ The massacre of Vassy ushered in the era of the civil wars. Taken in connection with the bearing of the Duke of Guise and his party after the event, it was an unmistakable notice to the Huguenots that laws made for their protection would not be observed. In resorting to arms, therefore, they could not be charged with taking the initiative in the conflict. Moreover, Condé, under whose standard they gathered, was specifically advised by the queen-mother not to disband his forces so long as the Duke of Guise kept his men under arms.² She feared the ascendancy of this house, and now made it her policy to hold the balance between the contending parties, using the one to keep the other within bounds. Her position is well indicated by the manner in which she received the news of the battle of Dreux (December, 1562), the first great encounter of the civil wars. The earliest report assigned the victory to the Protestants. "Well!" said Catharine, "we must now be content to pray to the Lord in French."³ As she was better informed, and learned that the Roman Catholic army had won the victory, she gave orders for a public celebration. The victory was not a very decisive one; but being on the side of the stronger party, it inspired them with the hope of a speedy overthrow of the Huguenots. That hope, how-

¹ Soldan, ii. 32.

² De Thou, Lib. XXIX.

³ Mezeray, iii. 274. Garnier considers it improbable that Catharine should have uttered these words at so serious a crisis. To us they do not seem specially counter, either to the character of Catharine, or to her position at the time.

ever, was soon dampened. About two months after the battle of Dreux, the most competent military leader in the party of repression, Francis, Duke of Guise, was assassinated by a fanatical Huguenot.¹

The peace concluded in 1563 was rather a truce than a peace. The continuance of persecution and menacing preparations gave the Huguenots to understand that no basis of security had yet been obtained. Thus a second civil war broke out (1567-68); and this, after a slight interval, was followed by a third. St. Denis, Jarnac, and Moncontour were the principal fields of battle. Condé fell at Jarnac in 1569. As D'Andelot died soon after, Coligny was the only great captain left to the Huguenots; and in the name of the youthful Henry of Navarre, and the son of the fallen Condé, he took the command.

In 1570 a peace was concluded, upon what was thought to be a firmer foundation than had been supplied previously. The terms were favorable to the Protestants. A large number of towns were designated, in which they were to be allowed freedom of worship; and four fortified cities were given over to their keeping, as security for the observance of the treaty. Thus a species of political significance was allowed to the Huguenots within the realm.

As if to cement the peace which had been con-

¹ The only evidence that Coligny was accessory to the deed was the confession of Poltrot, the assassin, under torture, — a confession which he himself contradicted (De Thou, Lib. XXXIV.). Such wretched evidence is far more than counterbalanced by the known character of Coligny, his frank statement respecting his whole relation to Poltrot, and his earnest request that the assassin might be kept till he could confront him in the presence of the judges.

cluded, a marriage was proposed between Margaret, the youngest sister of Charles IX., and Henry of Navarre. Jeanne D'Albret was not altogether pleased with such an alliance for her son, and could not refrain from some unhappy forebodings while giving her consent. It was her good fortune to die before the marriage was consummated, and the events ushered in, to which it was a prelude. No more courageous or steadfast adherent sustained the Protestant cause of that age than this woman. At various crises in the civil conflict, her spirit rose to a grand height of heroic constancy. She may have manifested something of the rigor naturally inspired by a stern ordeal and a stern creed; but the general tone of her life was elevated, and won the praise of a large proportion of the Roman Catholic writers of the era, as well as of the Protestant.

In the light of what followed, the marriage looks like a piece of stupendous hypocrisy on the part of those who planned it, designed to disarm the suspicions of the Huguenots. Only four days after the wedding, Coligny, as he was returning from a conference with the King, was fired upon and wounded; and the circumstances showed that the would-be assassin was associated with the Duke of Guise. Charles IX. expressed himself as greatly incensed at the outrage, showed every attention to the admiral, and gave him a special guard for his protection. A preponderance of authority seems to indicate that in this the King was sincere, and was moved by a genuine regard for Coligny.

Catharine de Medici was now made seriously to fear the influence of the noble admiral with the King, and joined all her power of persuasion with that of several

others, including the King's brother, the Duke of Anjou, to induce Charles to sacrifice Coligny. The weak-minded King at last assented, but is said to have put in the condition that no Huguenots should be left to avenge the crime. Thus the massacre of St. Bartholomew was planned. The preparations were completed two days after the assault upon the admiral, or on the 24th of August, 1572; and at the first approach of dawn the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled forth the signal for the slaughter. Coligny was among the first to fall, the Duke of Guise going in person to make sure of his death. The young princes, Henry of Navarre and Condé, were spared only on condition of accepting the Roman Catholic faith. On every hand the helpless Huguenots were cut down without mercy. If the statement of Brantôme and some others may be trusted, the King himself, as if crazed by the carnival of blood, fired from his window upon the fugitives.¹ For a whole week the murderous work continued in the metropolis, though considerably abated after the third day. Paris was made a veritable inferno. Private revenge and lust of gain, as well as religious bigotry, urged on the murderous work; and in some instances Roman Catholics were among the victims. Meanwhile, in answer to the royal orders,² similar scenes began to be enacted in the great cities of the provinces. In a number of instances, however, the magistrates, and even the bishops,

¹ Brantôme, *Les Vies des Grand Capitains*, Livre I., Partie II., chap. xxxix.; Baird, ii. 482.

² These orders were verbal and secret; the public order which was sent out being of a different tenor, and designed to afford a convenient shelter from responsibility.

had the humanity to discard the orders, and labored to prevent an outbreak.

A vivid impression as to the difficulty of escape for any one known to be a Protestant is given by Sully's narrative of his own experience. "I was aroused," he writes, "about three hours after midnight by the noise of bells and the confused cries of the populace. St. Julien, my governor, went out hastily with my valet de chambre, to learn the cause; and I have never since heard any thing of those two men, who were, without doubt, sacrificed among the first to the public fury. I remained alone, dressing myself in my chamber, when a few minutes after I observed my host enter, pale and in consternation. He was of the religion; and, having heard what was the matter, he had decided on going to mass to save his life, and preserve his house from plunder. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think fit to follow him. I resolved on attempting to get to the College of Burgundy, where I studied. I put on my scholar's gown, and taking a pair of large prayer-books under my arm, I went down-stairs. I was seized with horror as I went into the street at seeing the furious men running in every direction, breaking open the houses, and calling out, 'Kill! massacre the Huguenots!' and the blood which I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my fright. I fell in with a body of soldiers, who stopped me. I was questioned; they began to ill-treat me, when the books which I carried were discovered, happily for me, and served me for a passport. Twice afterward I fell into the same danger, from which I was delivered with the same good fortune. At length I arrived at the

College of Burgundy: a still greater danger awaited me there. The porter having twice refused me admittance I remained in the middle of the street at the mercy of the ruffians, whose numbers kept increasing, and who eagerly sought for their prey, when I thought of asking for the principal of the college, named Dafaye, a worthy man and who tenderly loved me. The porter, gained by small pieces of money which I put into his hand, did not refuse to fetch him. This good man took me to his chamber, where two inhuman priests, whom I heard talk of the Sicilian vespers, tried to snatch me from his hands, to tear me to pieces, saying that the order was to kill even infants at the breast. All he could do was to lead me to a remote closet, where he locked me in. I remained there three whole days, uncertain of my fate, and receiving no assistance but from the servant of this charitable man, who came from time to time, and brought me something to live upon.”¹

That the massacre was positively designed, and designed to the fullest extent, admits of no question. That it was planned long beforehand on the scale on which it occurred, may be doubted. Very likely Catharine de Medici had been cherishing the design of cutting off the *leaders* of the Huguenots, if it should appear politically expedient. It may be concluded, however, that the bloody plot in its full dimensions was first decided upon after the assault upon Coligny had miscarried, and was designed, in part, to anticipate any new uprising of the Huguenots which might be called forth by that outrage. Charles IX. at first denied responsibility for the massacre, but afterwards confessed

¹ W. S. Browning, *History of the Huguenots*, chap. xxviii.

that he gave the orders, and attempted to excuse himself under the miserable slander that the Huguenots had prepared a conspiracy against the throne.

As to the number of victims, the estimates of contemporary writers vary greatly. "Papyre Masson, from whom we have a biography of Charles IX., reckons them at twelve thousand and upwards, De Thou at thirty thousand, Sully at seventy thousand. The Bishop Péréfixe, who afterwards described the life of Henry IV. for the young Louis XIV., raised the number to one hundred thousand, a sum which also was given in a Huguenot representation which appeared two years after the bloody event. In Paris alone there fell, according to Papyre Masson, two thousand; according to Capilupi, three thousand; according to Brantôme, more than four thousand."¹ It is altogether probable that not less than twenty thousand were butchered.²

Outside of France the massacre was hailed with general reprobation, but Philip II. and the Pope were found capable of heartily applauding the enormity. Philip II. had a double occasion for rejoicing. While

¹ Soldan, II. 471. As respects the number connected above with the name of De Thou, it should be noticed that he gives it as a common estimate in his day, and adds that he considers it somewhat too large. He says: *Per alias etiam urbes, et ab urbibus per oppida et pagos exemplum grassatum est, proditumque à multis, triginta hominum millia toto regno in his tumultibus varia peste extincta, quamvis aliquanto minorem numerum credo (Lib. LII.).*

² Among recent writers, Martin, Baird, and Ranke regard this as about the lowest allowable estimate. Alzog, who makes four thousand the total number of victims, gives no sufficient grounds for his minifying estimate. La Popelinière, whom he quotes in a strangely inadequate way, makes the total not less than twenty thousand (Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. viii.; Martin, *liv.*; Henry White, *Massacre of St. Bartholomew*, chap. xiv.).

the wholesale murder of heretics was most acceptable to his feelings as a religious bigot, he saw that the massacre was greatly to his political advantage, since it had removed the most determined opponents of his ambitions, and would naturally be prejudicial to the relations of France with the Protestant powers. As for the Popes, the massacre but fulfilled the counsels which for years they had been pressing upon the French government. Nearly every message which came from Rome was a call to extermination. Pius IV. formally approved the atrocities of Blaise de Montluc.¹ Pius V. fumed against every concession to the Huguenots; ordered the troops, which he sent to re-enforce the Roman Catholic forces, to give no quarter to the foe;² and finally wrote to Charles IX. an earnest exhortation not to spare one of the hundreds of thousands of Protestants in his realm, tearing up the roots of heresy, and even the very fibres of the roots.³ "Let your Majesty," said he, "take warning from the example of King Saul. He had received orders from God, by the mouth of the prophet Samuel, so to smite the infidel Amalekites, as in no wise or on any pretext to spare one of them. But he did not obey the will and voice of God; therefore he was severely reprimanded, and finally was deprived of his kingdom and his life. By this example God has wished to admonish all kings, that, by neglecting to avenge injuries done to Him, they will provoke against themselves His wrath and indignation."⁴ To this savage advice, Gregory XIII.,

¹ Raynaldus, anno 1563, n. 158.

² Ranke, *History of the Popes*, p. 146, London edition.

³ "Radices, atque etiam radicum fibras."

⁴ De Potter, *Lettres de Saint Pie V.*, Lettre XII. A communication

who was on the throne at the time of the massacre, gave the fitting supplement by ordering public rejoicings, as the news of the tragedy came to Rome, and causing a medal to be struck, which bore the image of the destroying angel, and the inscription, "Ugonottorum strages" (massacre of the Huguenots). A still more elaborate memorial was also prepared. "By the order of the Pope, the famous Vasari painted in the Sala Regia of the Vatican palace several pictures representing different scenes in the Parisian massacre. Upon one an inscription was placed which tersely expressed the true state of the case, 'Pontifex Colinii necem probat.' The paintings may still be seen in the magnificent room which serves as ante-chamber to the Sistine Chapel."¹ Thus the Popes in their relations to France were the ringleaders of the most violent fanaticism and intolerance. Surely, to join infallibility with such a temper savors no less of magic than it would to attach intelligence and sensibility to a marble statue. An infallible butcher or hangman is not a New Testament conception.

It was no enviable fate to which the chief perpetrators of this bloody tragedy went forward. The miserable life of Charles IX. ended with a miserable death in 1574. Catharine de Medici outlived her influence, and came to her grave amid universal indifference. The end of the Duke of Guise was a tragedy, as was also that of Henry III., the brother and successor of Charles.

to Catherine de Medici at the same time was not a whit more gentle in its suggestions (*Lettre XIII.*).

¹ Baird, ii. 533.

Though stunned for a little space, by the blow which had fallen upon them, the Huguenots soon rallied, and in 1576 commanded an exceedingly advantageous treaty. With the exception of Paris and its neighborhood, they were allowed the free use of their religion in the whole realm, were declared eligible to civil offices, and were placed in possession of a number of cities.

This again was too much for the patience of Romish zealots. With whatever degree of sincerity the King had published the edict of peace, — and his moral shallowness was a poor guaranty of a thoroughly serious intent, — he was made subject to a pressure not easy to resist. Accordingly he beat a hasty retreat, cancelled his most solemn pledges, and declared that he would tolerate only one religion in his realm. His conscience, though it probably had but moderate need of such a salve, was eased by the explicit teaching of the French theologians that it was not necessary for him to keep faith with heretics.¹ Thus the long list of civil wars was still farther extended.

Among the factors constraining the King to break faith with the Huguenots, the most influential was the League. This was an association devoted to the maintenance of Roman Catholic supremacy in the realm. In its germs it had existed some years earlier, but as a definite and formidable organization it first became

¹ De Thou, Lib. LXIII. Theologi nostri disputabant, et jam aperto capite in concionibus et evulgatis scriptis ad fidem sectariis servandam non obligari principem contendebant, allato in eam rem concilii Constantiensis decreto, unicam ecclesiam esse, unumque verum Dei cultum; si multi admittantur, falsos necessario admitti; qua re irritatum Deum nunquam passurum ut dum Galli plus momentaneæ quieti quam Dei gloriæ student, otio tantopere expetito diu fruantur.

prominent in 1576. From the start, while it professed loyalty to the throne, it had the animus of an independent power, determined at least to control the government to the extent of defeating all concessions to the Huguenots. After the year 1584, when the death of the King's brother left Henry of Navarre the nearest heir to the French crown, the League went further. Usurping the prerogatives of sovereignty, it entered into an alliance with Philip II.; and pledges were given looking to the extermination of heresy, the sustaining of the Spanish interest in the Netherlands, and the elevation of the Cardinal of Bourbon, a pliant creature of the League, to the French throne, in case Henry III. should die childless. The leader of the League was Henry, Duke of Guise. The Jesuits were its active supporters, and it had the favor of a large proportion of ardent Romanists. The King's inward attitude toward it was, no doubt, from the first, one of dislike. He could not be blind to the fact that it was a powerful means of coercing royalty. Policy, however, led him to dissemble, and in part to join hands with the League.

In the renewed conflict the Protestants were favored with the services of Henry of Navarre. This prince had fled from virtual imprisonment at court, and resumed the profession of the Protestant faith. It was not long before the value of his leadership was made manifest. Dowered with a contagious enthusiasm, and having the eye of an eagle to detect the supreme exigency and opportunity of a battle, he knew how to lead the Huguenots to victory, as was shown on the field of Coutras in 1587.

Defeat but inflamed the zeal of intense Romanists.

More than ever they began to show weariness of the weak and inefficient King. Henry III. saw himself reduced to an abject position, while the Duke of Guise, the idol of the League, was treated as the real sovereign. Provoked beyond measure, he resolved to rid himself of his too powerful rival, and caused his assassination (December, 1588). A few days later, the brother of the murdered Duke, the Cardinal of Guise, was put out of the way. This atrocity completed the alienation of zealous Romanists from Henry III. They now spurned the King as a child of hell, and openly taught that his assassination would be a service most acceptable to Heaven. The only resource left to the wretched monarch was to ally himself with Henry of Navarre. Thus the prince who had shared in the inauguration of the St. Bartholomew massacre came finally to depend upon the Huguenots to maintain his throne. But his immunity from Roman Catholic vengeance was exceedingly brief. As the combined army of royalists and Huguenots was nearly ready for the assault upon Paris (July 31, 1589), Jacques Clement, a young Dominican monk, plunged a knife into the body of Henry III. The murderer was killed on the spot. He was a visionary fanatic, with nothing specially commendable in his character; but immediately the party of bigotry adored him as a saint. The Pope joined in the panegyrics that were lavished upon the assassin, and even went so far as to compare the deed, in respect of utility, with the incarnation and resurrection of the Saviour, and in respect of heroism, with the acts of Judith and Eleazar.¹

¹ Anquetil, vi. 2, 3.

With the fall of Henry III., the house of Valois came to an end. The voice of the dying King named Henry of Navarre his successor. Several years of warfare followed, in the course of which Henry gained the remarkable victory of Ivry, before he came into undisputed possession of the throne.

IV.—PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV. TO THE FALL OF LA ROCHELLE (1563-1628).

A Roman Catholic majority which had not yet ceased to celebrate the massacre of Protestants, and had just canonized the assassin of a king whose greatest fault was too little vigor in exterminating Protestants, was not likely to welcome a Protestant sovereign. It stood, in fact, as a thick wall of separation between Henry IV. and any real exercise of regal authority. Destitute of other means to break down this wall, what wonder that he thought once and again of the open door which a change of religious profession would set before him? With what cogency the tempter could represent that only thus would he be able to heal the woes of France, and bring to an end the long and terrible drama of civil strife! In Henry IV. the tempter found an accessible mind. He was not of the moral fibre to endure successfully so great an ordeal of conscience. While he was generous and large-hearted, and brought to the sceptre a magnanimity which was at once nature and fine art,—efficacious in a degree not often witnessed for turning opponents into friends,—he was lacking in moral stanchness. His manners were after the corrupt

pattern of the French court, and in no wise prepared him for a stern self-denial. Accordingly, he listened to the suggestions of expediency, and was received into the Roman Catholic communion in 1593. He is said to have described his own act as a sacrifice of his conviction to his duty,—a remark indicative of a rather beggarly conception of the relations which truth and duty sustain to each other and to God.¹ The palliation for his defection lies in the enormous difficulties which environed him and threatened the welfare of his country. So serious was the outlook, that even some of his Protestant friends, including the noted Sully, looked with indulgence upon his abjuration. But others, like Duplessis Mornay and Agrippa d'Aubigné, who counselled less with worldly wisdom, plainly told the King that he was paying a greater price than any man could afford to give for an earthly crown.

The immediate results were, in a temporal point of view, undoubtedly very beneficial to France. Henry IV. won a marked ascendancy, and showed himself admirably adapted to carry through a much-needed work of pacification. But how about remoter results? Would France have been afflicted with a larger aggregate of shame and horror than has fallen to her lot, if Henry IV. had not deserted the standard of his faith?

While the King became a nominal convert to the Roman Catholic religion, he did not forget his former allies. In 1598, through the Edict of Nantes, he pro-

¹ That Henry's casuistry, however, was not so effective as to exclude all scourgings of conscience, is sufficiently indicated by the narrative of Agrippa d'Aubigné (*H. M. Baird, The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, ii. 361, 362).

vided for them a most valuable safeguard of religious liberty. The chief stipulations were, that the Protestants, as individuals, should not anywhere be subject to inquisition or molestation on account of their faith; that, while they were to respect the Roman Catholic holidays, they should have freedom of worship in all places where it had been enjoyed in the two preceding years, or had been guaranteed by the edict of 1577, and in certain additional places in the different sections of the realm; that they should have the same access to schools and hospitals as was accorded to Roman Catholics; that they should enjoy the common privileges of citizens, and be counted eligible to the highest offices; that in the several parliaments a special chamber should be constituted, which, inasmuch as a proportion of its members were to be Protestants, might sustain their rights under the laws. As a security for the observance of the edict, the Protestants were authorized to hold a number of fortified cities for the space of eight years.

Notwithstanding these favorable terms, Protestantism, so far as that age was concerned, had seen its best days in France. The unwonted zeal which animated the Roman Catholic Church in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, reforming religious orders, and vigorously employing all the means of propagandism, presented a natural offset to the efforts of Protestants. Moreover, the political position which the Huguenots had come to assume, set bounds to their evangelizing zeal and activity. Being a party to treaties which assigned them a certain prescribed sphere, a sense of obligation to standing agreements embarrassed all plans for aggressive movements.

The brilliant reign of Henry IV. was brought to an end by the murderous knife of Ravallac, a fanatic, whose accomplices, if he had any, have never been discovered. Under his successor, Louis XIII., the Huguenots were obliged to feel the effects of the vigorous policy of the great minister Richelieu. The leading idea of Richelieu was centralization of power in the throne. The same general design which led him to seek a complete subjugation of the aristocracy to the royal authority, led him to seek the overthrow of the political power of the Huguenots. He saw that their possession of fortified cities was a great barrier in the way of royal supremacy. In particular, he was jealous of the communication which the Huguenots commanded with England through La Rochelle. Hence an effort was made to wrest this place from their control. The Huguenots offered a heroic resistance, but were obliged to yield. La Rochelle surrendered in 1628, after enduring the extreme horrors of famine. Richelieu was content to have destroyed the political power of the Huguenots; their religious privileges he did not attempt to cancel.

CHAPTER VI.

PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY, SPAIN, AND THE NETHERLANDS.

I. PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY.

THE first impact of the Reformation in Italy was upon the higher classes. A large proportion of those who gave token of its influence, or became its adherents, were men of learning and position. Means of carrying the evangelical message to the people were not, indeed, wholly neglected. Here and there the voice of the earnest preacher was heard. Translations of the Bible also appeared, — a very readable one being produced by Antonio Brucioli (1580–1532). But outside of the Waldensian colony in Calabria, the masses were not generally enlisted in the new movement. They were not so well prepared as to be stirred at once by the watchwords of the religious revolution; and no adequate respite was afforded to arouse their attention and appreciation. The hand of a stifling despotism quenched opportunity before it had fairly been brought to their doors. Still there were thousands in the middle classes who became attached to the Protestant teachings.

Communication with Germany and Switzerland supplied special incentives to reformatory movements in Italy. It is known that Protestants were numbered among the German and the Swiss troops who served in

the Italian wars; but this fact has moderate significance, as such agents were not probably very effective missionaries. Of much greater account was the interchange through the medium of universities and books. Some of the productions most acceptable to the people of Germany and Switzerland found numerous readers in Italy. "In spite of the terror of pontifical bulls, and the activity of those who watched over their execution, the writings of Luther and Melancthon, Zwingli and Bucer, continued to be circulated, and read with great avidity and delight, in all parts of Italy. Some of them were translated into the Italian language, and, to elude the vigilance of the inquisitors, were published under disguised or fictitious names, by which means they made their way into Rome, and even into the palace of the Vatican, so that bishops and cardinals sometimes unwittingly read and praised works which, on discovering their real authors, they were obliged to pronounce dangerous and heretical."¹

Among men eminent for learning or official station, there was a considerable group in Italy, who, without leaving the Roman Catholic Church, exhibited points of affiliation with the Reformation. Under this description may be included some of those who instituted, in the closing days of Leo X., the so-called Oratory of Divine Love. The oratory was an association in the interest of earnest piety, designed to work against the worldly, and almost pagan, tone which had ruled in the Roman court, and had come to unwholesome expression in some of the writings of the Italian human-

¹ Thomas M'Crie, *Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy*, pp. 34, 35.

ists. It numbered men of such reputation as Caraffa, Contarini, Sadoletto, and Giberto. Its specific design was not so much a reformation of doctrine as of practice. Some of its members at a subsequent date found opportunity to give formal expression of their views respecting the needs of the Church, being invited by Paul III. to act on the commission which he appointed to report a plan of reform. The commission seems to have discharged its task with a good degree of fidelity. Indeed, the report which was rendered in 1537 so exposed the wounds of the ecclesiastical body, that, at a later date, it was thought advisable to include it in the index of prohibited writings. These tokens of earnestness and enlightened sentiment were not necessarily associated with any leaning to evangelical views, as the case of Caraffa indicates. But, in fact, such views had a following in this circle. There is clear evidence that the cardinal, Gaspar Contarini, favored the doctrine of justification by faith. His friend Cardinal Pole, who was in Italy for a long period, was equally disposed to uphold this doctrine. Flaminio, a man of considerable literary distinction in his time, occupied unquestionably the same ground.¹ Cardinal Morone was so far suspected of sympathizing with the reformed views, that he was cast into prison, and detained there for some time.² At the Council of Trent, several representatives of the Italian clergy were in substantial accord with the Prot-

¹ The writings of these three men are the best, though not the only, basis for inferring their position. See M'Crie, pp. 168-179; Ranke, *History of the Popes*, Book II.

² Schelhorn, *Amoenitates Literariæ*, XII. 572-577, gives a list of twenty-one charges. See also Cantù, *Gli Eretici d'Italia*, Discorso XXVIII.

estant doctrine of justification.¹ The biographer of Paul IV. says that this tenet was an occasion of stumbling to a large part of the prelates and monks of that era.² The same writer says that not only many bishops, vicars, monks, and priests, but also many inquisitors themselves, were infected with heresy.³ This statement may be overdrawn; but it is manifest, that, in the more educated circles, some items of Reformation theology had quite an extensive currency. The real accession, however, to the cause of the Reformation, was by no means of equal extent. Those who held to the authority and outward unity of the Church had no certain grasp of their advanced views. They found themselves compelled to retreat, and their transient advocacy of evangelical beliefs, or tolerant regard for them, only served to make more emphatic the illustration that Rome was hopelessly bound with the chains of mediæval dogmatism.

Italy, however, witnessed a less timid approach to Protestantism, a much warmer and more positive appropriation of its principles, than that just described. A company of decided adherents appeared in all the important cities,—in Ferrara, Modena, Florence, Milan, Padua, Lucca, Siena, and Naples. The same may be said of the Sicilian Palermo. In Ferrara the amiable and highly accomplished French princess Renée showed herself to be devotedly attached to Protestant teach-

¹ Ranke instances the archbishop of Siena, the bishop Della Cava, and Giulio Contarini.

² Articolo, nel quale inciamparono gran parte de' prelati e de' frati di quell'età (Caracciolo, quoted by Bernino, *Historia di Tutte l'Heresia*, vol. iv. secol. xvi. cap. vii.).

³ Molti dell' istessi inquisitori erano heretici, come confessò il Vergerio, quando nella prima esamina fu malamente assoluto da loro (*Ibid.*).

ings, and protected, to the full extent of her ability, those imperilled by a like faith. In Bologna the Reformation cause found a staunch representative in John Mollio, a teacher in the University. Venice, for a season, offered a very favorable theatre for the new opinions. As early as 1530 an inspiring message came thence to the German Protestants, an exhortation to stand firm in their defence of the gospel before the Emperor and the Diet. In the years immediately following, the number of those who met in private to encourage and instruct each other in the evangelical faith so increased, that they began to consider the propriety of assembling public congregations. Venice was also the point of departure for a remarkable book, *The Benefit of Christ's Death*.¹ This was published anonymously in 1543, and is said to have been circulated to the extent of forty thousand copies before the Inquisition commenced that onslaught against it which came very near blotting it out of existence. By some it has been attributed to Paleario, a professor of oratory who taught in Siena, Lucca, and Milan. The language of Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, who became an exile for his faith, indicates the adaptation of the book to find a welcome with all liberal minds. "Many are of the opinion," he says, "that there is scarcely a book of this age, or, at least, in the Italian language, so sweet, so pious, so simple, and so well fitted to instruct the ignorant and weak, especially in the doctrine of justification."² The

¹ Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Giesu Christo crucifisso verso i Christiani.

² M'Crie, p. 127. Vergerio adds: "I will say more. Reginald Pole, the British cardinal, and the intimate friend of Morone, was esteemed

spirit of the treatise was conciliatory rather than polemical. "The book of Paleario," says Jules Bonnet, "had none of the poignant irony or satirical tone of Savonarola. The author carefully abstained from all controversy, in order to make known the doctrine of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the nature of which he explained and the fruits of which he described with the deepest feeling. The *Benefit* is not so much a book as an outpouring of the heart."¹

the author of that book, or partly so; at least, it is known that he, with Flaminio, Priuli, and his other friends, defended and circulated it."

The evidence that Paleario was the author is a statement in his defence, made in 1542 before the senate of Siena, from which it appears that he had written a treatise with the same or a very similar title. In the extant writings of Paleario there is no such treatise, unless it be identified with the celebrated book in question. On that supposition it must be concluded that the work had been circulated to some extent, in one section of Italy, before it was published anonymously at Venice.

Against the conclusion that it was written by Paleario is the fact that he is not once named by contemporary writers as the author. Caracciolo says that it was composed by a monk of San Severino in Naples; that it was revised by Flaminio; that it was printed many times, especially at Modena, by order of Morone (Bernino, secol. xvi. cap. vii.).

¹ Aonio Paleario, Eng. translation. Two or three brief extracts may serve to illustrate these comments.

"O great unkindness! that we who profess ourselves Christians, and hear that the Son of God hath taken all our sins upon him, and washed them out with his precious blood, suffering himself to be fastened to the cross for our sakes, should nevertheless make as though we would justify ourselves, and purchase forgiveness of sins by our own works."

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved brethren, let us not follow the fond opinion of the bewitched Galatians, but rather let us follow the truth which St. Paul teacheth us, and let us give the whole glory of our justification unto God's mercy and to the merits of his Son."

"O that unmeasurable goodness of God! How greatly is the Christian bound unto God! There is no love of man, be it never so great, that may be compared with the love that God beareth to the soul of every faithful Christian, whereof Christ is the Bridegroom."

"This so holy and divine affiance is gendered in our hearts by the working of the Holy Spirit, who is communicated unto us by faith,

From Naples there went forth a wide-spread influence in favor of the Reformation. Juan Valdés, a Spanish gentleman, secretary of the viceroy of Charles V. in Naples, was largely the originator of the new movement in that quarter. "Possessed of considerable learning and superior address, fervent in piety, gentle in disposition, polite in manners, and eloquent in conversation, he soon became a favorite with the principal nobility, and with all the enlightened men, who, at certain seasons, resorted in great numbers to the Neapolitan metropolis."¹ An association imbibing much of reforming zeal, though its efforts were directed rather upon the life and faith of individuals, than upon the institutions of the Church, was formed about him. Among the more distinguished of those who felt the

which never goeth without the love of God. And hereof it cometh that we be provoked to do good works with a certain liveliness and effectual cheerfulness."

"Justifying faith is, as it were, a flame of fire, which cannot but cast forth brightness. And, like as the flame burneth the wood without the help of the light, and yet the flame cannot be without the light, so is it assuredly true that faith alone consumeth and burneth away sin, without the help of works, and yet that same faith cannot be without good works. Wherefore, like as if we see a flame of fire that giveth no light, we know by and by that it is but vain and painted, even so, when we see not some light of good works in a man, it is a token that he hath not the true inspired faith which God giveth to his chosen, to justify and glorify them withal."

"O happy is that man who shutteth his eyes from all other sights, and will neither hear nor see any other thing than Jesus Christ crucified, in whom are laid up and bestowed all the treasures of God's wisdom and knowledge!"

How could a hierarchy, which put forth every effort to banish sentences like these from the sight and memory of men, tolerate the writings of the Apostle Paul?

¹ M'Crie, p. 107. For an account of the writings of Valdés, see Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, vol. i.

influence of this association, were Bernardino Ochino, general of the Capuchins, and Peter Martyr, an honored member of the Augustinian Order. The former had an extraordinary reputation as a pulpit orator. Since the days of Savonarola no one had displayed an equal aptitude for persuasive address. Great throngs attended his preaching. With the plaudits of the people were joined the praises of the learned and the fastidious, — a Contarini, a Bembo, and the talented Vittoria Colonna. Charles V. said of him, "He preaches with such spirit and devotion as might cause the very stones to weep."¹ Peter Martyr was less rich in popular gifts, but possessed superior learning and judgment. His talents were better suited to bear the ordeal of expatriation which fell to the lot of both; and he won in subsequent years a large measure of affection and respect throughout the length and breadth of the Reformed Church.

The extent of the patronage accorded to religious innovation at length alarmed the Roman court. To meet the exigency, the Pope was counselled to resort to that dread instrument which had already approved itself as the most effectual means of exterminating the heretic. Accordingly, in 1542 the edict was issued for establishing a supreme tribunal of inquisition at Rome. Six cardinals, among whom Caraffa was the foremost, were appointed as an inquisitorial commission. Powers practically unlimited were devolved upon the new tribunal. Without apprehension of the interposition of another court or authority, it was to pro-

¹ See Karl Benrath, *Bernardino Ochino of Siena*, translated from the German; Canth, *Gli Eretici d'Italia*, Disc. xxiii.

ceed against those suspected of heresy, and also against any who should venture to befriend them. Only one reservation was made by the Pope, the right to pardon a penitent.¹

In mentioning this tribunal we have indicated the death-blow to the Reformation in Italy. "Popish historians," says M'Crie, "do more homage to truth than credit to their cause, when they say that the erection of the Inquisition was the salvation of the Catholic religion in Italy. No sooner was this engine of tyranny and torture erected, than those who had rendered themselves obnoxious to it by the previous avowal of their sentiments fled in great numbers from a country in which they could no longer look for protection from injustice and cruelty. The prisons of the Inquisition were everywhere filled with those who remained behind, and who, according to the policy of that court, were retained for years in silent and dark durance, with the view of inspiring their friends with dread, and of subduing their minds to a recantation of their sentiments. With the exception of a few places, the public profession which had been made of the Protestant religion was suppressed. Its friends, however, were still numerous; many of them were animated by the most ardent attachment to the cause; they continued to encourage and to edify one another in their private meetings; and it required all the exer-

¹ Later edicts sought to fortify the inviolability, or irresponsible despotism, of the tribunal. Pius V. issued a decree, the plain import of which was, that to raise a finger against the Inquisition should be counted a horrible sacrilege, entailing upon the offender a forfeiture of all honors, possessions, and rights. (Quoted by M. Young, *Life and Times of Paleario*, ii. 553, 554.)

tions and violence of the inquisitors during twenty years to discover and exterminate them.”¹

A policy which sent the spy and the executioner into the nooks and the corners could not be expected to spare such a body of Christians as the Waldensian colony in Calabria. Under the pressure of their surroundings, the members of this community had become so far Romanized as generally to attend mass. But in heart they had not turned aliens to their antecedents. Awakened by the news of the Reformation, and strongly reminded of the faith of their ancestors, they were made to repent of their compliance with Romanism. A Neapolitan historian of that time thus describes the treatment to which they were subjected by the extirpators of heresy: “Some had their throats cut, others were sawn through the middle, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff; all were cruelly but deservedly put to death. It was strange to hear of their obstinacy: for while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they not only gave no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully that they would be angels of God; so much had the devil to whom they had given themselves up as a prey deceived them.”²

Among the Italian martyrs, there were a number whose character, and whose bearing in the face of torture and death, entitle them to perpetual remembrance. Such was Mollio, the Bolognese professor, who was brought before his judges in 1553. His superiority to the suggestions of fear may be judged from his address

¹ Reformation in Italy, pp. 205, 206.

² Tommaso Costo, quoted by M'Crie, p. 266.

to the assembled dignitaries. "As for you, cardinals and bishops," said he, "if I were satisfied that you had justly obtained that power which you assume to yourselves, and that you had risen to your eminence by virtuous deeds, and not by blind ambition and the arts of profligacy, I would not say a word to you. But since I see and know on the best grounds that you have set moderation and modesty and honor and virtue at defiance, I am constrained to treat you without ceremony, and to declare that your power is not from God, but from the devil. If it were apostolical, as you would make the poor world believe, then your doctrine and life would resemble those of the apostles. When I perceive the filth and falsehood and profaneness with which it is overspread, what can I say of your Church, but that it is a receptacle of thieves, and a den of robbers? What is your doctrine but a dream,—a lie forged by hypocrites? Your very countenances proclaim that your belly is your god. Your great object is to seize and amass wealth by every species of injustice and cruelty. You thirst without ceasing for the blood of saints. Wherefore I appeal from your sentence, and summon you, O cruel tyrants and murderers, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ at the last day, where your pompous titles and gorgeous trappings will not dazzle, nor your guards and torturing apparatus terrify us." Algieri, a native of Nola in the kingdom of Naples, came to the stake as one might approach a sacred altar for an act of solemn and joyful devotion. In his prison he had written to friends at Padua, "I have found honey in the mouth of the lion, an agreeable retreat in a frightful precipice, glorious prospects

of life in the abode of death, joy and peace in an abyss of hell. The prison is bitter to the criminal, but sweet to the innocent. It distils the dew, and gives in abundance the milk which strengthens the soul." Pascali, pastor of the Waldenses in Calabria, who was executed at Rome in 1560, met his fate with equal intrepidity. As the time approached for his sacrifice, he declared that his faith and rejoicing increased. "Yes," he exclaimed, "my joy is so lively that I can fancy that I see my fetters broken; and I would be ready to brave a thousand deaths, were that necessary, for the cause of truth." Pietro Carnesecchi, a Florentine of good birth, liberal education, and high character, endured the final ordeal with exemplary steadfastness. He was beheaded and burned at Rome in 1567. Three years later, Paleario, who had been taken from his professorship at Milan to a Roman prison, was repaid for his service to truth with the gibbet and the flames. A few hours before his death, he wrote to his wife, "I would not have you to be sorrowful at my happiness, nor take as evil what is my good. The hour is come when I am to pass from this life to my Lord and Father and God. I go there joyfully, as to the marriage of the Son of the great King."¹ In the presence of such witnesses, it does not seem presumptuous to hope that the evangelical message will yet reap an abundant harvest in Italy.

¹ For the quotations of the paragraph, see M'Crie and Bonnet.

II. PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN.

Through intercourse with Germany, France, and the Netherlands, reformed doctrines penetrated into Spain. Some of the early writings of Luther found their way beyond the Pyrenees very soon after their publication. A number of Spaniards, who did not venture to labor under the shadow of the Inquisition, employed all available opportunities to send their countrymen the evangelical message. A Spanish translation of the New Testament by Francisco de Enzinas, and another by Juan Perez, completed respectively in 1543 and 1556, were circulated to some extent, in spite of inquisitorial vigilance.

The first distinct indications of awakened interest in the truths of the Reformation appeared between 1530 and 1540. Within thirty years from the latter date, Spanish Protestantism had well-nigh gathered its harvest, the full list of victims which it afforded for the prison, the rack, and the flames. It never enrolled a very numerous company. The great mass of the people were not perceptibly affected by its influence. Still it had enough adherents to provoke serious apprehensions. Roman Catholic writers of the era expressed the opinion that it soon would have made rapid advances, and become a formidable power, had it not been arrested with merciless rigor. "There is no one," wrote Paramo, the Sicilian inquisitor, "who doubts that, in our age, a great conflagration would have been kindled in the Spanish kingdoms, had not the most vigilant fathers of the holy tribunal used their utmost diligence to extinguish the flame."¹ Illescas testified to the same effect;

¹ Büsching, *Comm. de Vestig. Lutheranismi in Hispania*; Gieseler, § 20.

declaring of the sectaries, "so great was their number, that all Spain would have been corrupted by them, and imbued with errors, if the inquisitors had delayed to apply the needful medicine for two or three months."¹ This, to be sure, is the language of conjecture, and may exceed the limits of a sober judgment. There is no reason, however, to doubt that with a fair opportunity the Reformation would have made extensive conquests in the Spanish peninsula.

In Spain, as in Italy, a large proportion of those who sympathized with the reformed opinions belonged to the educated class. "Perhaps there never was in any other country," says M'Crie, "so large a proportion of persons, illustrious either from their rank or their learning, among the converts to a new and proscribed religion."² Among those who showed a leaning to the Reformation, the clergy were well represented. According to Llorente, more than twoscore prelates and doctors of theology fell under the suspicion of the Inquisition.³ Some of these, it must be allowed, departed but moderately, if at all, from the dogmas of the Romish Church. Certainly the archbishop Carranza was far from renouncing the Roman Catholic faith in general. His affinity with Protestantism was, at most, no greater than that of Cardinal Pole. Nevertheless the Inquisition compelled him to wear out his life in prison.⁴

¹ Büsching, *Com. de Ves. Lutheranismi in Hispania*; Gieseler, § 20.

² *Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*, p. 234.

³ *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, iii. 61-99.

⁴ The persecution of Carranza excites greater indignation against the tribunal which sought his destruction, than sympathy for the victim of its intolerant zeal. Carranza himself had patronized severe measures against Protestants. For an extended account of his process, see Llorente, iii. 183-315.

There were some, however, in the priestly rank, who heartily embraced the Protestant faith. Even that monastic order which had a large share in the management of the Inquisition supplied martyrs to the Reformation.¹ These facts are worth noting, as indicating among others that the ecclesiastical rank, with all its corruptions and bigotry, was not far behind the average of European society in receptivity for gospel truth. In every country that persecuted the Reformation, priests and monks formed a fair proportion of the confessors and martyrs.

The Inquisition first began the work of uprooting Spanish Protestantism in deep earnest in 1557. But individual exhibitions of its tender mercies were scattered through the preceding years. Even the chaplain of Charles V., Alfonso de Virves, had to pay tribute to the intolerant tribunal. After being kept in secret prisons for four years, he was compelled to abjure (1537), and escaped further penalty only through the interposition of the Emperor. In language of great cogency, he has left on record his sense of the current tyranny. "Many have adopted," says he, "the maxim that it is lawful to abuse a heretic by word and writing, when they have it not in their power to kill and to torture him. If they get a poor man whom they think they can persecute with impunity, into their hands, they subject him to a disgraceful sentence; so that, though he prove himself innocent, and obtain a speedy ac-

¹ Sepulveda speaks of the prominence of the Dominicans in spreading what he terms the Lutheran pest. *Cujus mali monachi potissimum auctores et satores esse ferebantur ex familia Dominicana, et eorum quidam illustri genere nati* (*Opera*, vol. iii., *De Rebus Gestis Philippi II.*, Lib. II. cap. xviii.).

quittal, he is stigmatized for life as a criminal. If, on the other hand, the unhappy person has fallen into error through inadvertence, or the conversation of those with whom he associated, his judges do not labor to undeceive him by explaining the true doctrine of the Church, by mild persuasion, and paternal advice; but, in spite of the character of fathers to which they lay claim, have recourse to the prison, the torture, chains, and the axe. And what is the effect of these horrible means? All these torments inflicted on the body can produce no change whatever on the dispositions of the mind, which can be brought back to truth only by the Word of God, which is quick, powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword."¹

The fate which befell the Emperor's chaplain, or a more serious one, was escaped by Pedro de Lerma, chancellor of the University of Alcala, only through timely flight. His nephew and successor, Louis de Cadena, soon found it expedient to resort to the same means of safety. Rodrigo de Valer, who was among the first to advocate reformed views in Seville, was condemned to life-long penance and imprisonment (about 1541). A number of years later, Egidius, a distinguished preacher of that city, whom De Valer had awakened to the demands of an evangelical ministry, was apprehended by the Inquisition. The associate of Egidius for a season, the learned and accomplished Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, though spared for a longer interval, at length found himself in the same relentless grasp. To him the prison was an instrument of martyrdom. A memorial of the horrors

¹ Llorente, ii. 8-15.

of his dungeon has been preserved in the agonized exclamation, "O my God! were there no Scythians, or cannibals, or others more cruel still, into whose hands I might have been delivered, instead of falling under the power of these barbarians?"¹ The arrest of Constantine was one of the first-fruits of the general onslaught which was finally made against the adherents of the Reformation in Seville.

The first Protestant in Spain, of whose endurance of the extreme penalty for heresy we have a distinct account, was Francisco San Roman (1544). When brought before the inquisitors, he frankly confessed his belief in the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation, and denounced the corruptions of Romanism. "If his zeal was impetuous, it supported him to the last. He endured the horrors of a protracted imprisonment with the utmost fortitude and patience. He resisted all the importunities used by the friars to induce him to recant. He refused, at the place of execution, to purchase a mitigation of punishment by making a confession to a priest, or bowing to a crucifix which was placed before him. When the flames first reached him on being fastened to the stake, he made an involuntary motion with his head, upon which the friars in attendance exclaimed that he was become penitent, and ordered him to be brought from the fire. On recovering his breath, he looked them calmly in the face, and said, 'Did you envy my happiness?' at which words he was thrust back into the flames, and almost instantly suffocated."²

¹ Llorente, ii. 277.

² M'Crie, pp. 172, 173; *Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas*, ii. 208-214.

Such punishments as befell De Valer, San Roman, and Egidius, scarcely imposed a check upon the advance of the new teachings. Protestant congregations assembled in secret, particularly at Valladolid and Seville. At length, apprised, by instructions from the Netherlands, of the extent of the movement, the Inquisition began to work with terrible energy. Decrees both from Philip II. and the Pope sustained, and gave unlimited scope to, its operations. Early in 1558, Fernando Valdés, whose hardness and fanaticism eminently qualified him for the office of grand inquisitor, was urged by Paul IV. to proceed against the Lutheran heresy with the utmost vigor. In the same year, Philip II. published an edict declaring death, and confiscation of property, the penalty for buying, selling, or possessing prohibited books.¹ In January, 1559, the Pope issued a bull instructing all confessors to require their penitents, under pain of excommunication, to report to the Office of the Inquisition whatever they might know about the spread and use of forbidden writings.² Another bull, issued near the same time, authorized the execution even of such recanting heretics as had never relapsed, provided the genuineness of their penitence was suspected.³ Finally, having collected all possible information, the Inquisition made a sudden move, and filled its prisons to overflowing with those suspected of heresy. Now the wholesale sacrifice began. On the 21st of May, 1559, the first *auto de fé* for the execution of Protestants was celebrated at

¹ Llorente, I. 470.

² Raynaldus, Tom. XV., anno 1559, n. 15.

³ Ibid., n. 18.

Valladolid. With the lavish pomp and ceremony peculiarly characteristic of Spanish taste in these matters, the friends of the gospel were led to the slaughter.

"A general *auto*," says M'Crie, "in which a number of heretics were brought out, was performed with the most imposing solemnity, and formed an imitation of an ancient Roman triumph, combined with the last judgment. It was always celebrated on a Sunday or holiday, in the largest church, but more frequently in the most spacious square of the town in which it happened to be held. Intimation of it was publicly made beforehand in all the churches and religious houses in the neighborhood. The attendance of the civil authorities, as well as of the clergy, secular and regular, was required; and with the view of attracting the multitude, an indulgence of forty days was proclaimed to all who should witness the ceremonies of the act."

"Early in the morning, the bells of all the churches began to toll, when the officials of the Inquisition repaired to the prison, and, having assembled the prisoners, clothed them in the several dresses in which they were to make their appearance at the spectacle. Those who were found suspected of having erred in the slightest degree were simply clothed in black. The other prisoners wore a *sanbenito*, or species of loose vest of yellow cloth. On the *sanbenito* of those who were to be strangled, were painted flames burning downwards, to intimate that they had escaped the fire. The *sanbenito* of those who were doomed to be burnt alive was covered with figures of flames burning upward, around which were painted devils carrying fagots, or fanning the fire."¹

¹ Reformation in Spain, pp. 274-276.

A solemn procession was then formed to the place of the *auto*; a sermon was preached; the assembled people were sworn to defend the Catholic faith; the sentences of the different classes of heretics were read; and those adjudged worthy of execution were led without the walls of the city, where they were strangled or burnt alive. The inquisitors, while delivering over the victims to the civil officer, were wont to employ the form of a request that they should be treated with kindness. Whatever may have been the original import of this request, its use had become mere stereotyped hypocrisy. Perchance the very persons for whom kindness was solicited had been tortured by the inquisitors themselves up to the last point of mortal endurance; and the very magistrates who were asked to show kindness had just rendered a solemn oath to these same inquisitors, the unmistakable import of which was that they would steadfastly uphold the Inquisition in the work of destroying heresy.¹ The magistrate knew well enough that any refusal or delay to cut off the condemned heretic would arouse against himself a vengeance not easy to escape.

A second *auto de fé* at Valladolid occurred in October, 1559. Philip II. and many distinguished members of his court were among the witnesses of the spectacle. Of the condemned, two were made especially conspicuous by their character and their sufferings. These were Don Carlos de Seso and Domingo de Roxas. The former was a man of noble rank and high distinction. "Having performed important services for Charles V.,

¹ For the form of the oath exacted, see Puigblanch, *The Inquisition Unmasked*, I. 326, 345-354.

he was held in great honor by that monarch, through whose interest he obtained in marriage Donna Isabella de Castilla, a descendant of the royal family of Castile and Leon. De Seso was not less elevated by dignity of character, mental accomplishments, and decorum of manners, than by his birth and connections."¹ No one had contributed more than he to the spread of the reformed opinions in Spain. De Roxas, who went with him to the stake, was a Dominican monk.

In Seville, the first *auto de fé* took place in September, 1559. Year by year these pompous executions were repeated at the different stations of the Inquisition throughout the kingdom. The attempt at extirpation was successful. By the year 1570, Protestantism in Spain was destroyed. Thereafter the advocates and upholders of infallible authority were obliged to look mainly to other sources for the victims with which, from time to time, they replenished the terrible feast upon human flesh.

Contrary to the old maxim, the blood of the martyrs seems here to have produced no harvest, to have served no purpose except to seal upon Spain the curse of intellectual and spiritual desolation. A wider view, however, may suggest a more cheerful conclusion. Not to mention the increased resolution which came to the Protestants of the Netherlands from the sight of the burning pyres beyond the Pyrenees, Spain herself may yet find therein a salutary aid to an enlightened judgment upon the claims of a self-deified hierarchy.

The efficiency of the Inquisition in the work of extirpating the Reformation in Spain was not a little

¹ M'Crie, pp. 232, 233.

dependent upon the zealous co-operation and support of Philip II. As this monarch was a marked embodiment of the Spanish conservatism of the sixteenth century, and withal a central figure in the Roman Catholic reaction in Europe, a few words may fitly be added in this connection, on his character.

Philip II. was born at Valladolid, in 1527. As he grew up, he appeared cautious and reserved, slow of speech, and disposed to a seriousness that bordered on melancholy. He possessed scarcely a touch of the affability, and power of adaptation to different surroundings, which distinguished his father, the Emperor Charles V. He was also unlike him in his lack of martial spirit and capability. Though able to endure much labor, it was of that kind which pertains to the cabinet rather than to the field. The movements of his mind were slow but positive and straightforward. His purpose once chosen was inflexible. Morally considered, he is to be assigned, if not to the worst class of rulers, to one much below the best. Bigotry was not his only fault. He was guilty to some extent of gallantries. He was an adept in the arts of dissimulation. "His dagger followed close upon his smile." Still he was not without conscience, if under that category we may include any sort of a devotion which regards aught besides personal advantage. He had principles, and firmness in adhering to principles; but his principles were chosen in the thick darkness of intense bigotry. The measure of conscientiousness, therefore, which he possessed, only served to make him the more heartless and machine-like in his policy of repression. "Philip II.," says Froude, "was

one of those limited but not ill-meaning men, to whom religion furnishes usually a healthy principle of action, and who are ready and eager to submit to its authority. In the unfortunate conjuncture at which he was set to reign, what ought to have guided him into good became the source of those actions which have made his name infamous. With no broad intelligence to test or to correct his superstitions, he gave prominence, like the rest of his countrymen, to those particular features of his creed which could be of the smallest practical advantage to him. He saw in his position and his convictions a call from Providence to restore through Europe the shaking fabric of the Church; and he lived to show that the most cruel curse which can afflict the world is the tyranny of ignorant conscientiousness, and that there is no crime too dark for a devotee to perform under the seeming sanction of his creed." ¹

A bigotry determined and remorseless, counteracted by no warmth or generosity of nature, was the chief ingredient in Philip II. No Pope ever cherished a more intolerant zeal. At the beginning of his reign, during his visit to the Netherlands, he declared that it was better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics. No sacrifice, in his view, could be more acceptable to Heaven than the tortured body of a heretic. As the noble Don Carlos de Seso was being led to the stake, he exclaimed to Philip, "Is it thus that you allow your innocent subjects to be persecuted?" The reply of Philip was characteristic of the man: "If it were my own son, I would fetch the wood to burn him, were he such a wretch as thou art!" ² All virtue, all title to

¹ History of England, ix. 313.

² Prescott, Philip II. i. 396.

clemency from earth or heaven, cancelled by disloyalty to a single Romish dogma! such was the verdict of the royal bigot.

The intolerance of Philip and the Spaniards of his time was, in part, a thing of inheritance. The Inquisition, no doubt, was an efficient agent in hardening the sensibilities of the people; but apart from its influence, centuries of conflict with the infidel had their effect in the direction of intolerant zeal. "The life of every devout Spaniard," says Milman, "was a perpetual crusade. By temperament and position he was in constant adventurous warfare against the enemies of the cross; hatred of the Jew, of the Mohammedan, was the banner under which he served; it was the oath of his chivalry; that hatred with all its intensity was soon easily extended toward the heretic." "The *auto de fé*," says Prescott, "was the legitimate consequence of the long wars with the Moslems, which made the Spaniard intolerant of religious infidelity. Atrocious as it seems in a more humane and enlightened age, it was regarded by the ancient Spaniard as a sacrifice grateful to Heaven, at which he was to rekindle the dormant embers of his own religious sensibilities. . . . Never was there a people, probably, with the exception of the Jews, distinguished by so intense a nationality. It was among such a people, and under such influences, that Philip was born and educated. His temperament and his constitution of mind peculiarly fitted him for the reception of these influences; and the Spaniards, as he grew in years, beheld with pride and satisfaction, in their future sovereign, the most perfect type of the national character."

III.—PROTESTANTISM IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The renunciation of the sceptre by Charles V., in 1555, brought the government of the Netherlands into the hands of his son Philip II. The Netherlands embraced at that time seventeen provinces, covering nearly the same territory which at present is included in Holland and Belgium. These provinces were anciently independent states. In the first half of the fifteenth century they were united under the Duke of Burgundy; and, toward the end of the same century, they passed under the sovereignty of the house of Austria. They continued, however, to enjoy considerable privileges of local self-rule, which they were disposed very zealously to maintain. They were densely populated. The country is said to have contained three hundred and fifty cities, and six thousand three hundred towns of smaller size.¹ Brussels had seventy-five thousand inhabitants, and Antwerp one hundred thousand, at a time when London contained but one hundred and fifty thousand.

As respects industrial prosperity, the Netherlands constituted, at the middle of the sixteenth century, the richest and most thriving district of Europe. Agriculture and manufactures flourished, and a commerce rivalling that of Venice was developed. Learning found large patronage, and intelligence was uncommonly diffused through the different classes.

Among a people of such intelligence and broad commercial relations, the doctrines of the Reformation naturally found an early and an earnest canvassing.

¹ De Thou, Lib. XL.

The land of Gerhard Groot, Thomas à Kempis, and Erasmus, could not be expected to remain blindly and stubbornly attached to Romish authority. As matter of fact, Lutheran teachings speedily won in the Netherlands a very considerable following. Charles V. found occasion to issue a severe edict against the new heresy as early as 1521. The fruits of martyrdom were not long delayed. Two Augustinian monks, Henry Boes and John Esch, were burned at the stake, in Brussels, in 1523. They met the ordeal in a manner eminently suitable to serve as an example to the long list of their brethren in the faith, who were to follow in the same pathway of fiery trial.¹ A hymn of Luther has justly celebrated their heroism, and the power of their martyrdom. One of the stanzas is as follows:—

“ Quiet their ashes will not lie ;
 But scattered far and near,
 Stream, dungeon, bolt, and grave defy,
 Their foeman's shame and fear.
 Those whom alive the tyrant's wrongs
 To silence could subdue,
 He must, when dead, let sing the songs
 Which in all languages and tongues
 Resound the wide world through.”

In the Netherlands, Charles V. was much more free to use a policy of repression than in Germany. As, therefore, his first measures were unavailing, others and more severe followed. The edicts of 1529 and 1535 were genuine specimens of Spanish despotism; and that of 1550, which in a manner summed up all the

¹ Gerard Brandt, *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, Book II. pp. 45, 46, in the old English translation.

preceding, put the climax upon legislative barbarity. It required that all convicted of heresy should be burned alive, buried alive, or beheaded. All were to be counted liable to these penalties who had any thing to do with heretical books, who held or attended conventicles, who disputed on the Scriptures in public or in private, who preached or defended doctrines of reform. Informers were to be liberally rewarded from the confiscated estates of the condemned. No mitigation of the prescribed penalties was to be allowed, and friends who asked for any mitigation were to be counted as guilty of a penal offence. In the execution of these barbarous decrees, Charles expected much from the Inquisition, and no doubt that instrument of spiritual despotism did much of its characteristic work in the Netherlands; still the free spirit of the people compelled a limitation of its prerogatives, and prevented it from becoming such a formidable power as it was in Spain. As to the number sacrificed in the Netherlands under Charles V., no exact statement can be made. The estimates given, namely, from fifty to one hundred thousand, seem incredible, and provoke inquiry as to how the people of the Netherlands could have been induced tamely to endure such horrible butchery.¹

¹ Prescott concludes that fifty thousand is a grossly exaggerated estimate of the victims under Charles V. in the Netherlands (Phillip II., i. 346-348). Motley, on the other hand, says, "The number of Netherlands who were burned, strangled, beheaded, or buried alive, in obedience to his edicts, and for the offences of reading the Scriptures, of looking askance at a graven image, or of ridiculing the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ in a wafer, have been placed as high as one hundred thousand by distinguished authorities, and have never been put at a lower mark than fifty thousand. The Venetian envoy, Navigero, placed the number of victims in the provinces of Holland and

As one reads of the merciless policy sanctioned by the father, he is inclined to a measure of charity toward the son who received such an inheritance. Indeed, Philip did little more than to execute what his father had outlined. In theory, Charles V. was well-nigh as extreme as Philip II. The chief difference was that Charles had more heart, and more leaning to political expediency, to deter him from steady and remorseless persecution. In his last days, however, these checks were enfeebled. The counsels which issued from his retreat in the convent of Yuste were such as Inquisitor Valdés or Pope Pius V. might have applauded.¹

Philip II., on his accession, made it very evident that the people of the Netherlands could not expect any leniency or increase of privileges in any direction at his hands. His management tended to alienate Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. Margaret of Parma, an illegitimate daughter of Charles V., was made regent. Margaret, though not the choice of the nobles, was not decidedly obnoxious; but the Bishop of Arras, the artful, talented, and ambitious Granvelle, in his position of chief counsellor of the Regent, caused much suspicion and uneasiness. The slow and unwilling abandonment of an attempt to quarter Spanish troops upon the country increased the discontent. A like result attended the provision for the erection of a large number of new bishoprics; the measure being regarded by the native nobility as prejudicial to their dignity,

Friesland alone, at thirty thousand; and this in 1546, ten years before the abdication, and five before the promulgation of the hideous edict of 1550" (*Rise of the Dutch Republic*, i. 114, 115).

¹ For the tenor of his instructions to Philip, see Sepulveda, *De Rebus Gestis Caroli V.*, vol. III., Lib. XXX., cap. xli.-xliii.

and by the Protestants as a means for more rigorous persecution. Still further, the national spirit, apart from religious preferences, was averse to the tyrannical measures of the Inquisition, which the government seemed determined to employ in the true Spanish fashion.

Among the more distinguished representatives of the national spirit were William, Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horn. All of these, in the early part of Philip's reign, were adherents of the Roman Catholic Church: but the Prince of Orange cherished no ardent attachment to that Church; his natural disposition, as well as the memory of his Protestant parents, made it impossible for him to be a bigot. Egmont and Horn were much more zealous for the Romish religion. Both of them were men of high spirit, patriotic impulses, and martial reputation. Egmont, in particular, was distinguished by his brilliant achievements, popular gifts, and aspiring temper. But in real ability and power of insight, the Prince of Orange claimed by far the precedence. This was early perceived by Granvelle. In a letter to Philip he described Egmont as firm in the faith, loyally disposed, and easy to be won by flatteries and favors. The Prince of Orange, on the other hand, he portrayed as a man of profound views, dangerous ability, and tenacious purpose, whom it was difficult or impossible to control.

William of Orange was not altogether superior to the vices of his age. A trace of Machiavellian tactics may here and there be observed in his dealings with his opponents. His resort to such arts, however, indicates

not so much that they were agreeable to his mind, as that he did not know how else to foil the serpentine policy and deadly aims of the Spanish despot. Noble and heroic qualities had the chief place in his character. He was willing to endure any sacrifice in behalf of the liberties of his country. No amount of adverse fortune could check his determination and efforts in this holy work. As respects religious tolerance, he was broad-minded and consistent almost beyond example in that age. In prosperity as well as adversity he advocated, and, as far as was feasible, enforced, the claims of religious freedom; provoking on this account, in more than one instance, the criticism of his patriotic allies. In his intercourse with men, he was far from an appearance of moroseness or cold reserve. The name of "The Silent," which he bore, indicates not so much a general habit of taciturnity as the unapproachable secrecy with which he kept, even from those in close relations with himself, such counsels as it was impolitic to divulge. "But, while masking his own designs, no man was more sagacious in penetrating those of others. He carried on an extensive correspondence in foreign countries, and employed every means for getting information. Thus, while he had it in his power to outwit others, it was very rare that he became their dupe. Though on ordinary occasions frugal of words, when he did speak it was with effect. His eloquence was of the most persuasive kind; and as toward his inferiors he was affable, and exceedingly considerate of their feelings, he acquired an unbounded ascendancy over his countrymen."¹

¹ Prescott, Philip II., i. 449.

Possessing, as he did, a profound insight into the nature of Philip, the Prince of Orange saw from the outset that a crisis was being prepared for his country. Moreover, he was forewarned in good season, by the inconsiderate avowal of Henry II. of France, that he and the Spanish King were preparing for the complete extirpation of heresy in their respective dominions. But he determined to proceed with moderation and caution. The watchword which he adopted, *sævis tranquillus in undis*, is a good index both of his policy and his disposition.

The efforts of the discontented nobles effected the resignation of Granvelle in 1564. But his departure did not materially improve the condition of the country. The Inquisition continued its odious work. In 1566, a league was formed whose express object was to rid the country of the Inquisition. The league soon numbered several hundred nobles besides many burghers: the most distinguished of the nobility, however, such as Orange, Egmont, and Horn, stood aloof. The appellation *Gueux*, or beggars, originally applied in sarcasm to the members of the league, was voluntarily adopted with corresponding ensigns. This was not a Protestant, but rather a political or national league. Indeed, the terms of its agreement distinctly affirmed that nothing was intended against the Roman Catholic Church. The extent of the combination gave the matter a serious aspect, and led Philip to profess himself willing to make certain concessions. However, there is good evidence that his professions were dictated by the most treacherous designs. Preserved documents show that he had no serious intention to exempt the country from

the rigors of the Inquisition, or to grant the smallest indulgence to a single heretic.

The league was by no means a perfect instrument for the accomplishment of its patriotic designs. While it embraced clear-headed men, such as Sainte Aldegonde and Count Louis of Nassau, it numbered too many of those rude and disorderly spirits which are apt to be cast up in times of revolution. What it might have achieved, however, under fair conditions, was not to be known. One of those violent outbursts, which in several instances prejudiced the cause of the Reformation, put an end to all negotiations with Philip. About the middle of August, 1566, a mob destroyed the images in several churches in the province of Flanders. This became the signal for a general storm of iconoclasm. Churches, chapels, and convents were everywhere despoiled. It was horrible and inexcusable vandalism. Still the motive was not of the worst order. Mere wantonness may have been the ruling impulse with some; but a majority of the frenzied image-breakers considered that they were wreaking deserved vengeance upon contaminating idols. Moreover, the deeds of the iconoclasts were the deeds of a mob from the dregs of the people; a paltry contingent, whose violent doings were discountenanced generally by the Protestant clergy and the greater part of those who looked to them as their teachers.¹ "A hundred persons, belonging to the lowest order of society, sufficed for the desecration of the Antwerp churches. It was, said Orange, 'a mere handful of rabble,' who did the deed."² The disturbance might easily have been

¹ Brandt, Book VII., pp. 191-194.

² Motley, i. 569, 570.

quelled, only that Protestants and Romanists alike seemed to be paralyzed by the suddenness of the outburst. One feature of relief should be noticed. The iconoclasts, with all their fury and fanaticism, confined their violence to the images. They shed no blood, and made it plain, for the most part, that their aim was not plunder.

Though order was soon restored, the iconoclastic outbreak was a sufficient occasion in the eyes of Philip for the most unsparing vengeance. Indeed, the preceding agitation in behalf of the liberties of the provinces was offence enough, in his view, to call for the exterminating sword. That sword was now unsheathed. In 1567 the Duke of Alva was sent into the Netherlands at the head of an army, and with a commission which virtually superseded the Regent Margaret, and compelled her, in self-respect, to resign. Both in military ability and in temper, Alva was a fit instrument for the work to be done. His appearance and character are thus described: "A long, thin, bony figure, with a high and brazen forehead, black bristling hair, and flowing beard; hollow, dull voice; stubborn, revengeful, and cruel, recognizing no virtue except blind obedience, no means but terror, no merit but his own or that of his subordinates; as thoroughly a Spaniard as Publicola and Brutus were Romans; as pliant toward great minds as he was oppressive and cruel towards inferior ones."¹ "He did not combine," says Motley, "a great variety of vices; but those which he had were colossal, and he possessed no virtues. He was neither lustful nor in-

¹ Hormayr, quoted by William Bradford, *Correspondence of Charles V. and his Ambassadors*, p. 410.

temperate; but his professed eulogists admitted his enormous avarice, while the world has agreed that such an amount of stealth and ferocity, of patient vindictiveness and universal bloodthirstiness, were never found in a savage beast of the forest, and but rarely in a human bosom."¹ By principle and disposition, Alva was a merciless persecutor. He believed that it was useless to reason either with rebels or heretics, that with such the edge of the sword is the most effective argument. In this he was a man after Philip's own heart; and the most that can be said in exculpation of his atrocities is, that he in no wise exceeded the orders or the wishes of his royal master.

Alva, like the inquisitors of the era, placed a high estimate upon blows against persons of eminence, as a means of terrorism. His first care, therefore, was to seize the most distinguished nobles who in any degree had made themselves obnoxious by opposition to the policy of the King. Egmont and Horn were treacherously decoyed into the snare which had been laid, and were cast into prison. The Prince of Orange had the discretion to keep aloof. Granvelle understood sufficiently the character of Orange to know how to weigh the importance of this escape. As he heard in Rome of the imprisonment of the two counts, he asked, "Have they the Silent one?" A negative answer being returned, "Then," said Granvelle, "if he is not in the net, the Duke has caught nothing."²

This bold beginning, on the part of Alva, naturally increased the tide of emigration, which dread of the

¹ Rise of the Dutch Republic, ii. 107.

² Strada, De Bello Belgico, Decad. I., Lib. VI.

Spanish dictator had already set in motion. Twenty thousand are said to have left the country in the course of a few weeks.¹ Alva, seemingly unwilling that the number of his victims should be lessened by flight, issued an order threatening death and confiscation of property against those who should attempt to escape from the country. Meanwhile, the work of blood began. A special tribunal consisting of twelve men, named the Council of Tumults, but known in history as the Council of Blood, was constituted. The authority of this tribunal was based upon no royal charter, upon no written constitution or decree from any source: it was based simply upon the verbal fiat of Alva. But in spite of this flimsy sanction, it assumed to supersede every other tribunal in the country. "It defined and it punished the crime of treason. The definitions, couched in eighteen articles, declared it to be treason to have delivered or signed any petition against the new bishops, the Inquisition, or the edicts; to have omitted resistance to image-breaking, to the field preaching, or to the presentation of the request by the nobles, and, 'either through sympathy or surprise,' to have asserted that the King did not possess the right to deprive all the provinces of their liberties, or to have maintained that this present tribunal was bound to respect in any manner any laws or any charters."² Under such definitions, there could be no difficulty in finding victims. The only trouble for Alva's tribunal was to carry through the mock trials and to pass sentence with sufficient speed. Some of the twelve councillors had the decency to retire in disgust. Two or three carried

¹ Brandt, Book IX., p. 260

² Motley, ii. 136.

forward the bloody work with a zeal only equalled by that of Alva. Hessels and Juan de Vargas made themselves especially notorious. It is said of Hessels, that he frequently fell asleep during the trial of a prisoner; but his verdict was so much at his tongue's end, that, on being waked up, he uniformly cried out, half asleep, and rubbing his eyes, "Ad patibulum! Ad patibulum!" "To the gallows! To the gallows!"¹ Vargas was a man who had made himself a criminal in Spain before he became a butcher in the Netherlands. "He executed Alva's bloody work with an industry which was almost superhuman, and with a merriment that would have shamed a demon."² On one occasion, making light of the scruples of a fellow-councillor, who was troubled because a certain innocent person was rescued from execution only by the merest accident, he exclaimed, "Why do you worry yourself? It is all the better for the soul of the person sentenced to death, if he is only innocent."³ Every day witnessed the repetition of judicial murders. In a few months, eighteen hundred persons were sent to the scaffold, some of them on the most frivolous charges.⁴

According to some of the most eminent historians of the time, the authorities in Spain took pains to provide the Council of Blood with an ample basis for their barbarous proceedings. In the early part of the year 1568, as De Thou⁵ and Meteren⁶ report, the Inquisition at Madrid passed a sentence which involved, with insignificant exceptions, the whole population of the Nether-

¹ Brandt, Book IX. p. 277.

² Motley, ii. 140.

³ Brandt, Book IX., p. 277.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ix. 261.

⁵ Lib. XLIII.

⁶ *Historien der Nederlanden*, fol. 49.

lands in the crime of treason against God and the King. A few days later Philip II. added his sanction to the decree of the Inquisition, and forwarded it to the Duke of Alva as a rule for his administration.¹

To speak of mercy under this régime was counted a crime, as appeared when the magistrates of Antwerp asked that some who had offended only lightly might be released. Alva replied, "that he was amazed that there should still be any magistrates of their city, that could be so bold and so impudent as to dare to speak in favor of heretics; that they had best take care how they did so for the future, otherwise he would hang them all for an example to others; and that his Majesty had rather see all his territories deserted and uncultivated, than to suffer one heretic or Lutheran to remain in them."²

Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange, who had taken refuge in Germany, did not content himself with securing his personal safety, but used his utmost endeavor to assemble an army for the relief of his oppressed country. Hitherto he had remained in the Romish Church, but he began now to show open preference for the Protestant faith. Alva, finding it necessary to meet the forces of Orange in person, hurried through the execution of Egmont and Horn, and took the field. He was in general victorious, and inflicted terrible vengeance on the cities which fell into his hands.

Notwithstanding confiscations and enormous exac-

¹ The Dutch historians, Bor and Hooft, younger contemporaries of De Thou and Meteren, also make mention of the Sentence (Brandt, Book IX. p. 266).

² Brandt, Book IX. p. 265.

tions, Alva by no means realized his expectations in obtaining a great revenue. The golden stream which he had promised did not flow into Spain. He found that subordinates engaged in the plundering trade were likely to enrich themselves at the expense of the public chest. The fundamental principle of economics, that an exorbitant tax on repressed and ruined industries is less productive than a low tax on industries highly flourishing, was abundantly illustrated. Moreover, Alva could not escape the consciousness, that by his exactions and cruelties he had made himself universally hated. At length, he became weary of his task, and asked and received a recall (1573). He left, boasting that during his six years administration, he had caused upwards of eighteen thousand men to be executed; "a number," remarks Raumer, "too large if one speaks of executions proper, too small if all who were destroyed or made outcasts are reckoned."¹ The number of executions is evidently no proper measure of the sufferings that were caused. Destruction of business by fines and confiscations, and the devastations of armies, spread misery through all ranks of society. Add to this the fear and insecurity which were everywhere felt. The savage wish expressed by Alva, that every man as he lay down at night, or as he rose in the morning, "might feel that his house, at any hour, might fall and crush him," was not far from being realized.

The task which surpassed the abilities of Alva was not to be lightly accomplished by his successors, three of whom, Requesens, Don John of Austria, and Alex-

¹ *Geschichte Europas*, iii. 101.

ander of Parma, followed before the death of the Prince of Orange. The outraged provinces were in no haste to make terms with the perfidious despotism of Spain. A number of the cities, notably that of Leyden, signalized themselves by the most heroic resistance. Adequate means, however, were wanting for the attainment of a complete emancipation of the Netherlands. During the course of the war, the southern provinces were disengaged from their allies. The untimely fall of the great leader in the revolt prevented any successful effort for their recovery. These provinces, accordingly, were reconciled to Spain; the Jesuits were plentifully introduced, and means were taken to make a territory, which was no unfavorable soil for the Reformation, one of the most Romish districts in Europe. On the other hand, the seven northern provinces, — of which Holland was by far the largest, — fought out for themselves an independent status. A bond of federation was supplied to these provinces by the Union of Utrecht in 1579; and in 1581 they forswore all allegiance to Philip. The Prince of Orange had been for years the real sovereign of this territory, and might now have taken the title. But he considered that the country must have powerful allies for its defence, and, to insure connection with France, urged the acknowledgment of the Duke of Anjou as sovereign. The Duke was installed over some of the provinces. He appeared, however, only as a passing figure, and played a beggarly part in the affairs of the Netherlands. Holland and Zealand insisted upon the personal headship of William; and in 1582 he was vested with the sovereignty in perpetuity, though the

formality for its transference was never fully consummated. Two years before this, Philip II. had declared him an enemy of the human race, and had offered the most liberal rewards for his assassination. Various attempts upon the life of the great patriot followed. At length, in 1584, the fanatic Gerard accomplished the infernal deed. William of Orange fell, uttering as his last words, "God have compassion on me and on this poor people!" The murder was hailed in the circles of Romish bigotry with an applause second only to the insane chorus which celebrated the assassination of Henry III. The Jesuits, with whose foreknowledge the deed had taken place, reckoned Gerard among the holy martyrs of the Church; and Philip II. bestowed estates and patents of nobility upon his family.

The young republic could ill afford the loss of its illustrious head. But it still found means to maintain its independence. Maurice, the son of the fallen prince, possessed great military talents, and sustained the fortunes of the commonwealth.

It would seem from the preceding narrative that the people of the Netherlands had had a sufficient lesson respecting the woful consequences of intolerance. But the case was otherwise. As charity is the divinest of gifts, so it is the last to be enthroned in human hearts. Egoism, impatient of contradiction, is ever ready to seize the weapons of brute force, instead of trusting to reason and holy living. Hence those who have suffered grievously for their faith have often been found willing to make others suffer for their honest convictions. That the Protestants of the Netherlands were

not superior to this weakness and vice, was signally illustrated shortly after the death of William of Orange. The maxim was indeed very fairly established among them, that no inquisition should be made into private belief so long as it was treated simply and strictly as a private matter. But that a large proportion of them were not ready to allow any sort of public advocacy, even of a moderate and rational dissent from the current creed, was unmistakably shown in the Arminian controversy.

James Arminius, who gave name to the most fruitful re-action against the rigors of Calvinism, was born in 1560. Having enjoyed excellent opportunities for education in Leyden, Basle, and Geneva, and won high distinction as a preacher at Amsterdam, he was called in 1603 to the chair of theology in the university of Leyden. Some years before this, as a result of personal investigation, he had become convinced that the Calvinian dogmas of unconditional election and irresistible grace are untenable. As occasion required, he gave expression to his views, in fulfilment of the duties of his department of instruction. His creed was moderate. He made no further departure from the Calvinian system than was necessarily involved in his rejection of the ultra-tenets just mentioned. He was far from exhibiting any affinity with Pelagianism, except on a definition of that term, which would convict all the Church fathers before Augustine, without a single exception, of having been Pelagians. His manner of advocating his views was also characterized by moderation. He was a man of exemplary spirit, and did not forget the claims of Christian courtesy in the

heat of discussion. By principle as well as by disposition, he stood above the rage and vindictiveness of intolerant dogmatism. We find him writing in 1605: "There does not appear any greater evil in the disputes concerning matters of religion, than the persuading ourselves that our salvation or God's glory are lost or impaired by every little difference. As for me, I exhort my scholars, not only to distinguish between the true and the false according to Scripture, but also between the more and less necessary articles, by the same Scripture."¹ In a like vein he addressed the States of Holland three years later, declaring that a creed designed for general use ought to be brief, confined to the most necessary articles, and expressed as nearly as possible in Scriptural language.²

There were those in the Netherlands who appreciated the liberal sentiments of Arminius, as there were those who had been inclined, even before his public appearance, to the theological views which he advocated. But the majority of the clergy were as far from fellowship with his spirit, as from acceptance of his tenets. While some of them did not follow his most conspicuous antagonist, Gomarus, in the extreme doctrine, that even the decree for creation was subordinate to the decree for eternal damnation, they were disposed to repel any criticism of unconditional predestination as a profane assault upon the ark of the covenant.

The controversy, instead of subsiding after the death of Arminius, in 1609, proceeded with increased virulence. A fresh incentive was supplied by the action of the class of Alkmaar in insisting upon strict subscrip-

¹ Brandt, Book XVIII. p. 37.

² Works, vol. i. pp. 269, 272.

tion, depriving five ministers who refused thus to sign, and resisting the requirement of the States of Holland, that the deposed ministers should be allowed to continue in their places while their appeal was pending. Emboldened by their example, the upholders of rigid orthodoxy in other quarters began to press the demand for unqualified subscription, and the pulpits resounded with invectives against the disciples of Arminius. The latter, in explanation of their position, issued in 1610 a declaration under the title of Remonstrance. This document, which was of the nature of a temperate protest against unconditional predestination, limited atonement and irresistible grace, and spoke of the doctrine of certain perseverance as open to inquiry, fastened the name of Remonstrants upon the party.

With the progress of the agitation, political complications became conspicuous. The magistrates of the provinces, including the foremost statesmen, were largely on the side of the Remonstrants, and favored a settlement on the basis of mutual tolerance. This being the general attitude of the civil power, the Remonstrants naturally regarded it as breakwater against the uncompromising zeal of the Calvinistic clergy, and so gave prominence to its prerogatives in ecclesiastical affairs. The Calvinistic or contra-Remonstrant party, on the other hand, placed a relative emphasis upon the independent authority of the Church; though, as the sequel proved, when the civil power espoused their cause, they were very willing that it should go to any length in suppressing their opponents, and accused them of treasonable insubordination for any refusal of conformity to its decrees.

The change in the attitude of the civil power was brought about by a revolutionary stroke on the part of Maurice, who held the position of Stadtholder. Being a man of great military aptitudes, Maurice found his chance of distinction much abridged by the truce with Spain, which, counter to his wish, was established in 1609. The truce itself was, to some extent, an occasion of a grudge against a prime agent in its adoption, the statesman Barneveldt,¹ who, in the official position of Advocate of Holland, had exercised a commanding and salutary guidance of the affairs of the Netherlands. The grudge of the soldier was much increased by observing, that, in actual influence, he was hardly a rival of the statesman. It was also sharpened by the consideration, that Barneveldt, interpreting the rights of the provinces, not as a theorist, but as a constitutional lawyer mindful of the legal facts in the case, found little place for the centralized authority which Maurice was ambitious to possess. The Stadtholder, therefore, had begun to look upon the Advocate as an enemy, when the theological controversy supplied an effectual weapon against him. At first Maurice took a neutral position ; indeed, he continued in attendance upon the ministry of Uytenbogart, who drew up the Remonstrance, to within a year or two of the final crisis. But, at length, seeing a means of ascendancy in the zeal of the clergy, and the greater part of the common people, he deposed the magistrates in the several provinces, and replaced them with men of his own party. Every thing was now at his command. Barneveldt, the patriot and statesman, who had served

¹ So the name is commonly written in English, though Oldenbarneveldt is the proper form.

his country in a degree second only to that of William of Orange, was loaded with such slanderous accusations as the combined industry of political and theological hate could devise, imprisoned, subjected to a mock trial, and beheaded. Hugo Grotius, the associate of Barneveldt, and the sharer of his views, the most gifted scholar of his age, — poet, historian, apologist, exegete, theologian, and jurist, — was sentenced to life-long imprisonment, from which, however, after two years of durance, a happy device secured his escape. The arrest of the statesmen occurred in 1618, just before the assembling of the synod of Dort; and sentence was executed against them directly after its close, as a general synod.¹

The work of the synod of Dort was the ecclesiastical counterpart to the doings of Maurice in the state. For though it contained some representatives from England, and from several Continental states, in respect of sentiment it was a synod of contra-Remonstrants pure and simple. The relation of the Remonstrants to it was none other than that of prisoners at the bar. The partial hearing which was accorded to Episcopius and the other cited theologians was only a form, a decent preliminary to the sentence which was predetermined by the composition of the assembly. The Remonstrants were condemned in terms which bear a singular resemblance to the language of pontifical bulls and Romish

¹ For the political side of the Arminian controversy, see Motley's *Life and Death of John of Barneveld*. A mass of details relating to the ecclesiastical side of the movement may be found in Brandt's *Reformation in the Low Countries*, vols. ii.-iv. For a brief and lucid account, see C. M. Davies' *History of Holland and the Dutch Nation*, vol. ii.

synods against heretics. As an effectual bulwark against the five points of the Arminians, a creed, sufficiently detailed in its specifications, was subscribed. This creed is not an unworthy specimen of Calvinistic workmanship. It shows a very fair degree of skill in the wording. Still, it fails to cover up the infinite dissonance between responsibility and opportunity, which characterizes all high Calvinism, and leaves no escape from the conclusion, that a portion of the race are condemned to eternal perdition, on the score of a probation which was accomplished, and the issue of which was irretrievably determined, before they were born.¹

For refusing to subscribe to this creed, some two hundred ministers were deprived of their positions, and about eighty were banished from the country. Several, as continuing their ministrations after the decree of banishment, were sentenced to life-long imprisonment. Heavy fines were imposed for attendance upon Remonstrant conventicles. In numerous cases the forbidden assemblies were exposed to gross abuse at the hands of the troops, and in some instances were subjected to murderous violence. Subscription to the canons of Dort

¹ This is an unavoidable inference from the teachings of the Dort canons, that no one can extricate himself from the state of nature without the regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit; and that this grace, bringing a salvation which is never forfeited, is given only to the elect. On this basis the non-elect must be regarded as having had in Adam all the probation that they have at all, so far as the alternatives of eternal life and eternal death are concerned. Whether the views held by the theologians of Dort, respecting the divine decree which extended over the fall of Adam, would not involve a still further narrowing of probation, it is hardly worth while to consider here. A man who is born under sentence of damnation, could not be consoled much by the conclusion that the sentence was not most strictly and absolutely from eternity.

was exacted from schoolmasters as well as from ministers. In some districts the requisition was extended even to the organists, one of whom, offering to compromise the matter, said that he would readily play the Calvinistic formulas if any one would set them to music.

A sad chapter, surely, in the history of the Netherlands, is this which records the crusade against the Arminians! The statesman who was unexcelled by any man of his generation, who, perhaps more than any other, was alive to the crisis which was being prepared for European Protestantism, and was already stealing upon it, — the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, — is arrested in the midst of his efforts to provide against the advancing storm, and is sent to the scaffold. At a time when the people of the newly founded republic ought to have arrayed their whole strength against the common foe, they appear with disunited ranks, one party proscribing, banishing, and repressing the other, in behalf of the supremacy of articles which are no part of Catholic Christianity. With the mutterings of war already in the air, in face of the fact that lack of union between the Lutherans and the Reformed was perilous to the very life of Protestantism, a teaching which essentially agreed with Lutheranism is formally denounced, and its upholders declared utterly beyond the pale of toleration.¹

¹ The interpretation which Lutherans might, and did, put upon the action of the contra-Remonstrants, is seen in a publication issued by the Wittenberg professors in 1621. Referring to offers of fraternity from the side of the Reformed, the authors remark: "What good there is to be expected from such brethren, may easily be gathered from the synod of Dort and their proceedings. The Calvinists had several dis-

To the credit of the people of the Netherlands, the era of infatuated intolerance was not of long continuance. After the death of Maurice, in 1625, persecution against the Remonstrants began to subside; and by 1631 they were allowed to establish congregations in the country. As respects subsequent fortunes, the Arminian movement, if it did not fully realize in the Netherlands the promise of its earlier years, was crowned with an abundant harvest in other and much broader fields.

putes with the Arminians, particularly about the article of grace, or election, in which the latter defended our opinion, and the former that of Calvin. In this controversy the Calvinists at length showed so much heat, that, by a hasty decree of that synod, they condemned the Arminians and their doctrines, without allowing them to make any defence, depriving them of the exercise of their religion, and banishing their most eminent ministers from their country forever. Was not that a very brotherly proceeding? If they thus treated such who differed from them in little more than one article, namely, that of predestination, what must we expect who differ from them in so many?" (Brandt, Book LVI. p. 330.) This is not forced reasoning, and it is difficult to see how the Calvinistic doctors in the Netherlands could have answered it, unless they were willing to allow that partisan malice had more to do with the proscription of the Arminians than any doctrinal interest.

To be sure, there was a measure of provocation. In the early stages of the agitation several intemperate Calvinists who refused communion with the Arminians, or assailed them in scurrilous terms, were treated rather severely by the magistrates. But the provocation was of small account compared with the sweeping prosecution which followed against the Arminians.

CHAPTER VII.

PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

I. — THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND UNDER
HENRY VIII.

THE history of the Reformation in England is not the history of a rapid transition to a new order of religious beliefs. The revolt from Rome, however suddenly accomplished in legislative decrees, was but slowly achieved in fact. England, as regards the feelings and established principles of the great body of her people, could hardly be pronounced a Protestant country before the middle of Elizabeth's reign. It is true an essentially Protestant scheme was introduced in the reign of Edward VI.; but the ease with which it was swept away on the accession of Mary shows that it had not taken root in the hearts of more than a fraction of the nation.

That the reform did not proceed more rapidly and radically, was due to several causes. A large element of conservatism was inwoven with the national temper. No theologian of commanding ability and energy, such as a Luther, a Zwingli, or a Calvin, appeared upon the field of agitation. Their disposition, as well as their circumstances, inclined the leaders to depend very largely upon governmental action, instead of making

a direct and powerful appeal to the people. The political factor had, therefore, an ample scope. The throne, in fact, exercised a dominant influence over the English reformation. It was not the author of that reformation. The movement was started in the face of its prohibition. But it vigorously asserted its influence in directing, limiting, and organizing the movement.

The great English sovereigns of the sixteenth century were no friends of radical Protestantism. Even Elizabeth, while her sovereignty served as a bulwark of the Protestant cause in Europe, was averse to a sweeping change from the old system, and would have consented to Rome with quite as little reluctance as to Geneva. As for Henry VIII., it is only by an abuse of terms that he can be called a Protestant. With nearly as much propriety one might call the Hohenstaufen sovereigns Protestants, on account of their quarrels with the Popes. Henry VIII. is properly defined as a *refractory Roman Catholic*. While he cut loose to some extent from mediæval fetichism, and made concessions to the circulation of the Bible, he still undertook to sustain well-nigh the whole system of the scholastic dogmas. He never placed foot upon the evangelical basis of Protestantism; and the principal change which he aimed to effect was to substitute his own authority, within English domains, for that of the Pope.

The attempt of the crown to manage religious affairs according to its own behests was greatly assisted by the relative lack of independence which characterized the English people under the Tudors. Before the reign of Henry VIII. had reached its meridian, loyalty had

degenerated into servility. The explanation of this pliant attitude is found partly in the preceding history and partly in the personality of the sovereign. The ruinous wars between the houses of York and Lancaster had created an extreme dread of civil commotion. Men thought of civil strife as a worse evil than tyranny. While thus disposed by a consideration of interest to endure a vast stretch of royal prerogative, they were impelled in the same direction by feelings of esteem and admiration. For in the earlier part of his reign Henry VIII. seemed to Englishmen the very pattern of royalty. His personal appearance was noble. He is described by a foreign resident at his court as by far the handsomest sovereign in Europe.¹ With courtliness and magnificence he combined an easy and friendly style of intercourse with the people. The faults of his government being charged upon his ministers interfered but little with his popularity. Thus it came about that when his remorseless selfishness began to break through the smooth exterior, few checks were interposed against his arbitrary will. The scheme of Hobbes was practically anticipated. A great Leviathan — lord of men's consciences as well as of their conduct — was on the throne. The will of the sovereign became the standard for the profession and practice of the people. The national trait, upon which the Venetian ambassador commented with so much severity in the time of Queen Mary, had been well exemplified under Henry VIII. "The example and authority of the sovereign," he wrote, "are everything with the people of this country in matters of

¹ Venetian ambassador Giustiniani, Despatches, ii. 312.

faith. As he believes, they believe; Judaism or Mohammedanism,—it is all one with them. They conform themselves easily to his will, at least so far as the outward show is concerned, and most easily of all where it concurs with their own pleasure or profit.”¹ This is, of course, an exaggerated statement. Conviction had its impregnable entrenchments in the hearts of Englishmen, as is well attested by a noble line of martyrs. The remark of the ambassador, however, has its significance as indicating how large a measure of subserviency to royal authority was exhibited, and how gradually the minds of the people became actually possessed by the truths of the Reformation.

It is to be observed that while the conservative spirit, as represented by the crown and some of its more distinguished agents, gave to the English Church a more hierarchical and ritualistic cast than appeared in any other reformed country, a tendency exactly contrary to this was at the same time generated. By a natural reaction, as the hierarchical and ritualistic scheme was enforced, the opposing tendency gathered increasing intensity. Premonitions of the great conflict which convulsed the nation in the seventeenth century reach back almost to the foundation of the established Church.

No single abuse, like the sale of indulgences, started the Reformation in England. But the movement, doubtless, received no small incentive from the prevalence of corruption and malpractice among ecclesiastics. Profitable superstitions, though receiving the scorn of the more advanced spirits, were cherished with shameless tenacity. Pride, arrogance, and avarice were dis-

¹ Giovanni Micheli, quoted by Prescott, Philip II., i. 70.

played to a degree which provoked the disgust of many a layman. The opening of the sixteenth century was indeed a palmy time with the higher ecclesiastics in England. The influence which the nobility had lost by the Wars of the Roses seemed to have accrued in large measure to the prelates. They held a chief place in the State as well as in the Church. By an enormous abuse of the practice of pluralities they massed great revenues into their hands, and were foremost among examples of showy and luxurious living.

At the head of the ecclesiastical dignitaries stood Wolsey. Brought to notice in the closing years of the reign of Henry VII., he advanced rapidly to the first place in the control of affairs. Offices and emoluments were literally heaped upon him. He had all at once the position of chancellor of the realm, the bishopric of Winchester, the rich abbey of St. Albans, and the archbishopric of York.¹ He was also made cardinal, and was vested with an authority, as legate, which scarcely fell short of a practical supremacy over the Church of England. To this official elevation Wolsey undoubtedly brought more than common abilities. The Venetian ambassador speaks with admiration of his industry and extraordinary capacity for work, representing him as discharging in person all the varied functions which in Venice were devolved upon the different magistracies and councils.² His character, too, was not without its favorable side. He was free from the bitterness

¹ Jeremy Collier, *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, iv. 125, ed. 1840; Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, i. 12, 13, ed. 1843.

² Giustiniani, *Despatches*, ii. 314.

of dogmatism. Though in his dying message he urged upon the King the necessity of depressing the "new sect of Lutherans,"¹ he was not, during the period of his authority, directly accessory to any act of bloody intolerance. He cherished also liberal schemes of education and designs of ecclesiastical reform. Some have supposed that if he had reached the goal of his ambition and ascended the papal throne, he would have done much to check the advancing revolution by removing the causes of offence. This is, however, a baseless supposition. Even if Wolsey had possessed the right disposition, the prerogatives of the papacy in his hand would have been no effectual guarantee of reform. To renovate the old Church, vastly more was needed than a well-disposed Pope. But Wolsey did not have the right disposition. This worldly prelate, whose best energies were absorbed in European politics, who never indicated that he was half awake to the crisis which had overtaken Latin Christendom, who made the service of God secondary to the service of the King and to his own advancement, was not the man to arrest religious revolution by lifting the Church to a higher plane. In the chair of Peter he would probably have performed a part scarcely more illustrious than that of Leo X.²

1 Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, p. 389.

² Some members of the Anglo-Catholic school have given a much more favorable picture of Wolsey than even their mediæval standpoint will warrant. In opposition to their intemperate praise the following sober estimate of a Roman Catholic historian is pertinent: "We may pronounce Wolsey a minister of consummate address and commanding abilities; greedy of wealth and power, and glory; anxious to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was built and the church of which he was so distinguished a member; but capable, in the pursuit of these different

In considering the beginnings of the English Reformation we may notice three factors: (1) Remnants of the Wycliffite party, or Lollards, still found among the poor in the realm; (2) The learned; (3) The Government.

Respecting the Lollards in the early part of the sixteenth century little information is afforded, except the record of the prosecutions to which they were subjected. Six were condemned to the stake in 1509, and at intervals between this date and 1519 like sentence was passed upon others.¹ A considerable number were constrained to recant, and were required to wear during life the fagot badge. The measure of influence exerted by this class was probably not very large. Indeed, it is a question whether the direct inheritance which had come down from the Wycliffite movement was an advantage to the Reformation in England. The Lollards represented a cause which had already been condemned and covered with odium. The resemblance, therefore, of their tenets to the leading doctrines of the new reformers was the reverse of a recommendation to the latter, especially with the middle and higher classes. On the other hand, the Lollards supplied to the Reformation a means of entrance into the humbler ranks; and if their numbers were considerable this was not a small advantage.

Among the learned a special incentive was derived from the Greek Testament of Erasmus, with its accom-
objects, of stooping to expedients which sincerity and justice would disavow, and of adopting, through indulgence to the caprice and passions of the King, measures which often involved him in contradictions and difficulties, and ultimately occasioned his ruin" (Lingard, *History of England*, vi. 42, ed. 1861).

¹ C. Geikie, *The English Reformation*.

paniment of a new Latin translation and free-spirited annotations. In no country, in fact, does the work of Erasmus appear to have been more directly fruitful than in England. A specially hearty welcome was accorded to it by a number of young men in the universities. Their earnest perusal of its pages bore its legitimate fruit in a quickened religious life and a more enlightened faith. At Cambridge, Thomas Bilney, a man of mild and devout temper, was among the first to be awakened to a new sense of evangelical truth. About 1524 Hugh Latimer, who had been noted for his attachment to the Romish system, and on receiving the degree of Bachelor of Divinity had used the occasion to attack Melanchthon, was converted by the influence of Bilney. John Fryth, Robert Barnes, and others were also included in the reforming group at Cambridge. Meanwhile the divergence of these men from the old doctrinal system was not of the most radical sort. They retained some of the Romish dogmas, though bringing to them a spirit which would naturally urge ere long to a wider departure.

The movement was transferred from Cambridge to Oxford, and that by the act of Wolsey himself in selecting some of the more promising of the young men in the former university to help fill up the college which he had just founded. The conjecture has been made that Wolsey selected them with the full knowledge of their liberal tendencies, and expected that the soothing effect of patronage would bring them to a quiescent state. But it is more probable that respect for their talents led to their choice. In any case, the Cardinal was chagrined over the result. It was soon rumored

that the college which he expected to be a bulwark of the Church and a glory to his name was infected with heresy. Arrests were forthwith made (1526). Clark, one of the foremost in the list, died in prison, and others were taken with mortal sickness. This was a more serious issue than Wolsey desired, and he accordingly gave orders for the release of the imprisoned students.

The evangelical group at Cambridge was likewise assailed. Barnes was apprehended. Threats and persuasions deluded him for the time being into a recantation. The same was true of Bilney; but both at a later date nobly atoned for their weakness. Latimer was also called to account, but was able to satisfy Wolsey without suffering restriction of his liberty.¹

Among these early reformers from the universities, the first place as respects breadth and permanence of influence is to be assigned to William Tyndale, the one man among all Englishmen who has left any marked impress of his individuality upon our English Bible. Very soon after leaving the University of Cambridge (which may have occurred at the close of 1521), Tyndale became convinced that the Bible in the language of the people must serve as the great instrument of reform. "I perceived by experience," he says, "how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother-tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text."² To turn the saving light of the Bible upon England became now his absorbing ambition. "If God spare my

¹ R. Demaus, *Biography of Hugh Latimer*, pp. 56-58.

² *Ibid.*, William Tyndale, p. 71, ed. 1886.

life," he said to a learned man who urged appeal to the Pope rather than to Scripture, "ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest." Completely foiled in his endeavor to obtain aid for his project from the Bishop of London, and discovering that not so much as tolerance for it was to be expected in England, he crossed over to the Continent (1524). Even there he was subjected to repeated dangers and embarrassments, and was obliged to shift his residence from one city to another. Messengers from England were sent to hunt him out, and, if possible, to destroy both him and his enterprise. The former design was ultimately accomplished. Tyndale suffered martyrdom in the Netherlands in 1536. But his enterprise had already been a great success, and was forthwith to be crowned with new victories. As early as 1526 the New Testament was published, six thousand copies being printed at Worms.¹ These were rapidly distributed, the "Society of Christian Brothers," which had been formed in London, probably helping to expedite the matter. Reprints immediately followed

¹ A warning that the incendiary literature would soon be in England was sent by Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, who was then on his way to Spain. His letter to Henry VIII. is a significant specimen of the dread of an open Bible which was entertained by zealous adherents of Rome. "I need not advertise your Grace what infection and danger may ensue hereby if it be not withstood. This is the next way to fill your realm with Lutherans. For all Luther's perverse opinions are grounded on the bare words of Scripture not well taken or understood, which your Grace hath opened in sundry places of your royal book. All our forefathers, governors of the Church of England, have with all diligence forbid and eschewed the publication of English Bibles, as appears in provincial constitutions of the Church of England" (Ellis, Original Letters, CL.).

from the presses of the Dutch printers. Attempts of English bishops to check the circulation by buying up all accessible copies only supplied funds for new editions. Tyndale was able to send forth the Pentateuch in 1530, and it is understood that at the time of his death he had carried the translation to the end of the Books of Chronicles. All this labor was destined to permanent recognition in the English-speaking world. The translations of Tyndale, in very large part, lay at the basis of the editions which were permitted or authorized under Henry VIII.,¹ and no later revisions have served to conceal the handwriting of the great translator.

The English Bible was Tyndale's peculiar legacy to his countrymen. But he had a still further relation to the religious revolution in England. He was a pioneer as respects the introduction of the Reformed theology. Several treatises which came from his pen received much attention. They indicate a man of force and thoughtfulness, though the bitter polemic in which he sometimes indulges stands quite in contrast with the calm majesty of the translator. The importance which opponents attached to his writings is seen in the fact that Sir Thomas More, in his attempted refutations, filled nearly a thousand folio pages.

¹ Coverdale's translation, which was issued in 1535, was based in part on that of Tyndale. Luther's version and some others were also consulted. Matthew's (or more properly Roger's) Bible embraced all of Tyndale's work, and used Coverdale's version in completing the Old Testament. This was authorized by the Government in 1537-1538. The "Great Bible," published in 1539 under government auspices and the editorship of Coverdale, was a revised edition of Matthew's Bible. Taverner's version, which also appeared in 1539, was largely indebted to Matthew's.

Thus the Reformation was begun in England by scholars and common people acting in entire independence of the Government, and in the face of its violent opposition. It was not till after the movement had progressed to a very noticeable degree that Henry VIII. rebelled against the Pope; and then self-will and considerations of personal pleasure dictated his course rather than any sympathy with the Protestant theology. As we have seen, he assumed at one time the rôle of the theologian against Luther, and exulted in the title of Defender of the Faith conferred upon him by the Pope. As late as 1527, he was counted a chief supporter of the papacy, and appeared anxious to avenge the imprisonment which his Holiness suffered in that year at the hands of the troops of Charles V. But about this very time a subject was broached destined to result in a rupture with the papal court. This was the famous question of divorce. Arthur, an older brother of Henry VIII., had died soon after marrying Catharine of Aragon, an aunt of Charles V. Reasons of State caused Henry to be married to his brother's widow, a union which required a papal dispensation. After about seventeen years of married life, Henry began to express doubts as to the propriety of his union with Catharine. It is certain that conscience was not the only motive power which urged him to seek a divorce. Still it is not wholly incredible that he may have felt some conscientious scruples on the subject. Of several children by Catharine, all had died in infancy with the exception of one daughter. Being exceedingly anxious for a male heir, Henry might very naturally be led to the suspicion that the

death of his children was a visitation from Heaven upon an unrighteous marriage. Whatever the real strength of the King's scruples, they were so reinforced by other influences as to lead to decisive action. According to the belief of Catharine, and a very general opinion of the time, Wolsey's ambition served as an effective spur to Henry's doubts. Having reached the highest summit of power which the realm afforded, the Cardinal aspired to complete the list of honors by ascending the papal throne. Charles V. promised to second his aspirations, but bitterly disappointed him. The enraged cardinal thought it would be nothing more than a fitting recompense to forward the divorce from Catharine and marry Henry to a French princess, thus allying him with the great enemy of Charles. It is certain, as is assumed in this theory, that Wolsey desired to make a firm alliance with France; but the proof that he first suggested the divorce is not so decisive. Probably more effective than conscientious scruples or ministerial advice was the passionate attachment which the King had formed for Anne Boleyn. As this lady refused to be his mistress, he determined to make her his queen. This was a choice to which Wolsey was utterly averse, but Henry was too determined to brook any opposition on this score even from the powerful minister.¹

¹ The contradictory items in the famous question of divorce may be seen in the following summary of the main points: (1) As stated above, contemporary opinion, to a noticeable extent, made Wolsey the prime mover in the divorce suit. (2) The King, before the legatine court of Wolsey and Campeggio, expressly asserted that the Cardinal did not first suggest the divorce, but rather opposed it at the start. (3) The King affirmed that his scruples were excited by the fact that the Bishop of

The Pope, being plied for a divorce, found himself in a great dilemma. If he should grant the divorce, he would earn the mortal hatred of Charles V.; if he withheld it, he would be visited with equal displeasure from Henry VIII. He adopted, therefore, a policy of delay. The wearisome length to which the negotiations were drawn out, and their unpromising look in the end proved fatal to Wolsey. Failure in a minister to accomplish the royal pleasure was in the eyes of Henry VIII. a capital crime. Wolsey was degraded from the chancellorship in 1529, and died on his way to the Tower in 1530. "On his deathbed his thoughts still clung to the prince whom he had served. 'Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King,' murmured the dying man, 'He would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is my due reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only

Tarbes, the French ambassador, while negotiating respecting the marriage of the Princess Mary to the Duke of Orleans, had raised some question about the legitimacy of the princess. (4) The negotiation with the Bishop of Tarbes occurred in the early part of the year 1527. But in 1531 the King told Simon Gryneus that for seven years he had abstained from the bed of Catharine, evidently wishing to convey the impression that his scruples reached as far back as 1524. (5) According to some of the most thorough investigators, there is evidence that secret action in the direction of the divorce was taken in 1526, and accordingly before the conference with the Bishop of Tarbes. (6) Knight, the King's ambassador to the Pope in 1527, was instructed to inquire whether the King might not contract a new marriage, that with Catharine still standing. From this it would appear that desire for a new marriage, rather than a sore conscience over the old, was the impelling motive in the royal mind. This inference gains double weight if one gives credit to the evidence that the relation of Henry VIII. to Mary Boleyn was such as legally to debar a marriage with her sister Anne. See, on the whole subject, J. S. Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII. from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey*, vol. ii.

my duty to my prince.' No words could paint with so terrible a truthfulness the spirit of the new despotism which Wolsey had done more than any of those who went before him to build up. From tempers like his, all sense of loyalty to England, to its freedom, to its institutions, had utterly passed away, and the one duty which the statesman owed was a duty to his 'prince.'"¹

The fall of Wolsey was the fall of his order. Churchmen sank at once to a plane of lessened authority. The charge against Wolsey of having accepted and fulfilled the functions of papal legate contrary to the laws against foreign appointments, was at the same time a charge against the ecclesiastics who had become his accomplices by accepting his legatine jurisdiction. The charge in either case was founded in malice rather than in equity; but it had a show of legality, and could be utilized for bending the clergy in general to the royal will. Wolsey, in fact, was a principal author of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown. He concentrated in himself the ecclesiastical sovereignty of the realm; being an obsequious servant of the crown, while he was ruler of the Church, he helped to bridge over the interval between the temporal and the spiritual; he compromised the position of those under him so that his forfeit could be made theirs also. Accordingly, when he fell the ecclesiastical supremacy was within easy reach of the King.

The patience of Henry VIII. having become exhausted by the tedious manœuvres of Clement VII., he determined at length to settle his "great matter" with-

¹ J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, ii. 150.

out recourse to Rome. By the advice of Cranmer, the universities, and numerous individuals who were reputed learned in the canon law, were consulted on the validity of the marriage with Catharine. A fair proportion of these reported in the King's favor. The favorable verdict, however, was in some cases the result of bribery or a shameless use of royal authority. In January, 1533, the King celebrated in private his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Later in the same year Cranmer, who had been created Archbishop of Canterbury, passed sentence against the marriage with Catharine as unlawful and invalid, and ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was publicly crowned queen. To seal emphatically the separation from the papacy, Parliament passed, in 1534, the Act of Supremacy, by which it was ordered that the King "shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this realm, as well the title and state thereof as all the honors, jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity belonging; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power to visit, repress, redress, reform, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction might or may lawfully be reformed." Three years before, Convocation had conceded to Henry the title of "supreme lord and head of the Church and Clergy of England," but had blunted its force by the addition of the ambiguous clause, "so far as the law of Christ

will allow." Even in the mind of the King, the title, as then employed, did not seem to mean a positive renouncing of papal authority, for negotiations were still kept up with Rome. The definite abrogation of the papal headship over the English Church is most properly located at the year 1534.¹

The steps taken by the government toward a rupture with Rome were accompanied by no great show of favor toward the Protestants. Indeed, a persecution was inaugurated which was more searching than any which had occurred up to that time. Thomas More succeeded Wolsey in the chancellorship. Contrary to what might have been expected from the free-spirited humanist and layman, he proved a more diligent persecutor than the Cardinal had been, more zealous to suppress both heretics and their writings. Some exaggerated statements may have been made respecting his severities. But it is certain that he considered burning a fit punishment for heretics; that during his administration several were sent to the stake, and that he pursued the memory of some of these after their death with most unfeeling slurs. His acts and his writings combine to convey the impression that his zeal so far got the better of his amiability as to pass over into a species of fanaticism. His controversial tracts against Luther and Tyndale are among the most fertile in scurrility and invective which that intemperate age produced.

More held his office but a short time. Seeing the

¹ For a list of the successive steps by which the papal jurisdiction was abolished, see J. H. Blunt, *The Reformation of the Church of England*, i. 277, 278. This work is written from an Anglo-Catholic or anti-Protestant standpoint.

unconquerable tendency of the King to revolt against Rome, he pleaded ill health and retired in 1532. Three years later his refusal to give the desired acknowledgment to the King's supremacy brought him to the scaffold (July 6, 1535). A fortnight before, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, whom the Pope had made a cardinal while he was in prison, had been executed on the same ground. The sacrifice of these two men, whom all parties allow to have been distinguished for their integrity, was justly regarded as a piece of tyranny; for there is no indication that they were disposed to offer anything more than a passive resistance to the new régime. Among the more humble victims to the royal supremacy the monks of the Charterhouse in London won an honorable name by their constancy.

From this point the conduct of Henry VIII. may be described as a somewhat wavering opposition both to the Protestant and the strict Roman Catholic systems. His ideal was evidently an Anglo-Catholic Church; that is, a church conformed in the main to the mediæval model as respects constitution and doctrine, but having an English sovereign for its supreme head in place of the Pope. His measures, however, were tinged not a little by the spirit of the counsellors who happened to be in the ascendant. At one time Archbishop Cranmer, for whom the King had a special esteem, succeeded in influencing him in the interest of the Reformation. In this he was seconded by the powerful and despotic minister Thomas Cromwell, who aimed at a political alliance with Protestantism and zealously fostered some of its features, whatever may have been the measure of his sympathy with the Prot-

estant theology. At another time advisers like Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, gained the ear of the King, and decrees extremely hostile to Protestant teaching were issued.

Among the more important measures which signalized the headship of Henry VIII. over the Church of England, the following deserve special mention: (1) The promulgation of the Ten Articles and kindred expositions of doctrine; (2) The dissolution of the monasteries; (3) The enacting of the Six Articles; (4) Provision for the distribution of the Bible in English.

The Ten Articles, signed by members of the Convocation and published in 1536, present the old creed in such a moderate form as might conciliate the party of reform. While they inculcate the doctrine of the real bodily presence in the Eucharist, the full sacrament of penance, with auricular confession included, the veneration of saints, and prayer for souls in purgatory, they do not necessitate the acceptance of transubstantiation, mention only three sacraments, warn against making too much of the saints, dissuade from refinements upon purgatory, and disallow the value of papal pardons and of masses as means of helping the souls of the departed. The Ten Articles were followed the next year by the "Bishops' Book," or the "Institution of a Christian Man." This differed little in tone from the Ten Articles, and its contents were mainly an expansion of the same. Froude has pronounced it, in point of language, "beyond question the most beautiful composition which had as yet appeared in English prose."¹

¹ History of England, iii. 245.

"The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," authoritatively published in 1543, bears some traces of the reactionary movement which had been started shortly before.

Cardinal Wolsey, acting under the authority of the Pope, had given an example, on a moderate scale, of suppressing monasteries; a score having been sacrificed for the founding of his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford. After the separation from Rome a further suppression naturally followed, from the conviction that these institutions were alien to the new order of things and formed a dangerous bond of connection with the papacy, as well as from an avaricious appetite for their enormous wealth. Nearly four hundred were dissolved in 1536, and the still larger remainder experienced a like fate in the years immediately following. Some of the monasteries no doubt deserved their downfall, in consideration of the iniquities which they had harbored. But the suddenness with which a large multitude of people were thrown out of their accustomed mode of life bears an appearance of harshness, while the manner in which the crown and its favorites appropriated the greater share of the proceeds can hardly be characterized as anything else than shameless spoliation. In general, it may be said, the dissolution of the monasteries was justified on the score of religious and State policy, but the manner in which the dissolution was effected was cause for national grief and shame. An unbiassed historical judgment will subscribe to the following words of Hallam: "If Henry had been content with prohibiting the profession of religious persons for the future, and had gradually diverted their revenues

instead of violently confiscating them, no Protestant could have found it easy to censure his policy."¹

In 1537-1539 the English Bible was published under sanction of the government, and allowed to be freely distributed. This may be counted the greatest indulgence which Henry VIII. awarded to Protestant principles. And even this concession was in part withdrawn. After the execution of Cromwell, in 1540, the anti-Protestant element found opportunity to vent its dislike of the unrestricted reading of the Bible; and in 1548 a decree was issued prohibiting the public reading of the Scriptures except in the authorized services, and the private reading of the same on the part of the humbler classes.

The Six Articles present in a most undisguised manner the mediæval theology which was still entrenched in the mind of Henry VIII., after his revolt against the papacy. One of their designs seems to have been to notify the world that the King had not become infected with Protestantism. They assert transubstantiation, the adequacy of communion in one kind, the celibacy of priests, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, and the necessity of auricular confession. These Articles were given the force of law by Act of Parliament in 1539, and barbarous penalties were denounced against those who should contradict them. Any denial of the first was to be punished with death by burning. A first offence against the others entailed confiscation of property; a second offence was punishable with death.

The ascendancy of the reactionary party prophesied

¹ Constitutional History of England, chap. ii.

a gloomy time for the friends of reform. And in truth victims were not wanting, though the onslaught was less extensive than might have been expected from the tenor of the Six Articles. Barnes, Garret, and Jerome were burned in 1540; Testwood, Peerson, and Filmer in 1543. Anne Ascue, a woman of eminent station and talents, was tortured and burned in 1546, for denying the doctrine of the real presence. Three companions perished with her. Latimer was confined in the Tower. Papists and Protestants both suffered, and sometimes were carried on the same hurdles to execution. A stranger in England at the time had occasion to remark that "those who were against the Pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged." The death of Henry VIII. in 1547 caused a cessation of this anomalous and double persecution.

The character of this monarch has received but little eulogy from the great majority of historians. Mr. Froude, however, while he finds many things in his rule to condemn or to apologize for, makes him out, on the whole, a sovereign quite superior in character as well as in ability. As has been well suggested, Mr. Froude seems to lay too much stress upon contemporary verdicts, and does not make sufficient allowance for the subservient spirit toward the throne which characterized the King's associates and a large proportion of the people in that era. When Parliaments were ready at the royal nod to declare the King released from his debts, and Convocation undertook to dissolve a marriage, without the least show of legal ground, simply because it was distasteful to the monarch,—when thus the highest powers in State and Church were

enslaved, the fact that this or that party helped to give a specious appearance to various deeds of the King does not go far toward his justification. It was understood to be no safe matter to bring in a different verdict from that which was desired. There might be courage to resist an exorbitant tax, for the universal opposition to it relieved each individual from serious responsibility. But where less support could be counted on, conduct was too apt to be determined by dread of the royal displeasure.

No doubt Henry VIII. had some of the qualities of an efficient ruler. To strong resolution he added a degree of compliance with the demands of the times. He knew the value of popularity. He had the discretion not to push any particular policy beyond the bounds of national endurance. But the restraint which he acknowledged lay in policy rather than in any conscientious moderation. His essential temper was that of an Oriental despot. Not to mention other features of his rule, the heartlessness with which he sacrificed the feelings and the lives of his queens, and sent to the scaffold the ministers who had served him with signal devotion, gives an unavoidable impression of devouring egotism and unfeeling tyranny. "In Henry VIII.," says Ranke, "we remark no free self-abandonment and no inward enthusiasm, no real sympathy with any living man; men are to him only instruments which he uses and then breaks to pieces."¹

¹ History of England, i. 169, English edition.

II. — THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI. (1547-1553).

Edward VI. was only nine years old at his accession, and his death occurred before he had reached his majority as specified in the testament of the late King. The regency, left in the hands of sixteen men, soon centred in the Duke of Somerset, who was appointed Protector of the realm. His discretion did not prove adequate to the difficult position. Means of overthrow were found, and in the closing years of Edward VI. he was superseded by the Duke of Northumberland.

The brief reign which bears the name of Edward VI. marks a decisive era in the history of the English Church. The untenable scheme of Henry VIII., which could satisfy neither Papist nor Protestant, was at once modified; and before the six years of Edward's rule were concluded, England had exchanged an Anglo-Catholic system for one which, without abuse of terms, may be called Protestant. Laws, articles, and, to a large extent, formularies of worship were made to assume a Protestant cast. The statute under which heretics had been burned since the rise of the Lollards was abolished.¹ The images were ordered to be re-

¹ The abolition of the statute ought in all consistency to have put a stop to the barbarous practice which it sanctioned. But we have the fact that under this Protestant administration Joan Bocher was burned in 1549 for denying the proper humanity of Christ, and George van Paris met the same fate in 1551 on account of Arian views. In the absence of the statute, appeal was made to the common law in these executions. It was a most impolitic and discreditable severity; and the chief agents, especially Cranmer, soon reaped a bitter recompense. Says Burnet: "In all the

moved from the churches. Communion in both kinds was enjoined. Marriage was made lawful for the clergy. Readiness and desire for fellowship with the Protestant brotherhood on the Continent were expressed in invitations to distinguished foreign divines to favor England with their presence. Such representatives of the Reformed Church as Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer received much honor, the one being installed at Oxford and the other at Cambridge, in 1549.

Under the new conditions the need of a new service-book naturally received early and emphatic recognition. In the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. some progress had been made toward revising the old forms of worship. This work was now carried forward with alacrity; and before the middle of the year 1549 the venerated product of English piety and scholarship, the Book of Common Prayer, was brought into use. It was largely the work of Cranmer, and reflects his inclination to a mediatorial position between the old and the new, his reverent love of the past and at the same time his consciousness of the need of change. It reflects also his felicitous mastery of the English language. "As the translation of the Bible," says Froude, "bears upon it the impress of Tyndale, so, while the Church of England remains, the image of Cranmer will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the Liturgy. The most beautiful portions of it are

books published in Queen Mary's days, justifying her severity against the Protestants, these instances were always made use of; and no part of Cranmer's life exposed him more than this did" (*Reformation*, ii. 177-179).

translations from the Breviary ; yet the same prayers translated by others would not be those which chime like church-bells in the ears of the English child. The translations and the addresses, which are original, have the same silvery melody of language, and breathe the same simplicity of spirit."¹

The progress of opinion soon raised a demand that some of the traces of mediæval thought and custom, which had been retained in the Prayer Book, should be corrected. The influence of the foreign divines no doubt helped to strengthen this demand, but there were native theologians who were anxious to cast out the remaining vestiges of mediævalism. Among these was Hooper, to whom a special notoriety attaches as a forerunner of the Puritans in his opposition to the clerical vestments. The learned Ridley was also in favor of such emendations as should make the Prayer Book a more unequivocal exponent of Protestant sentiments. These recommendations succeeded the more easily as Cranmer himself shared in the advance of opinion. Quite early in the reign of Edward VI. his mind seems to have been disabused of the doctrine of the real presence, and he was carried along by the current into enlarging sympathy with the ordinary Reformed type. Accordingly a revision was made, and a somewhat more Protestant cast was given to the Prayer Book, much to the grief of Nonjurors and Ritualists in later times.² The distinguishing charac-

¹ History of England, v. 391.

² One of the principal changes effected by the revision of the Prayer Book was in the communion service. The invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements was omitted, the prayer of oblation was converted into

teristic, however, which it bore at its first compilation, was not eliminated. In preserving many elements of the ancestral worship, it continued to serve as a bond of connection with the past. The revised edition was authoritatively published in 1552.

The Articles of Religion, forty-two in number, prepared chiefly by Cranmer and Ridley, served as the basis of the Thirty-Nine Articles which have so long been in force in the Church of England. Being drawn up at the close of Edward's reign, they constitute, as might be expected, a thoroughly Protestant creed. Indeed the Articles, whether in their original or their final form, bear only in slight measure the character of a compromise document. In the Liturgy a mind reverent of the mediæval system can find that which may be interpreted in harmony with its preferences. But the Articles are no mean between Anglo-Catholicism and Protestantism. They constitute a robust Protestant creed, such as a Calvin or a Knox would have found little occasion to criticise.¹

While Protestantism was being enthroned in the minds of theologians and established by act of government, it was not equally successful in winning the firm and intelligent acceptance of the nation at large.

a thanksgiving, and the words used in the delivery of the elements were so modified as to avoid any implication of a real bodily presence. We may also include among the more noticeable items the discontinuance of exorcism and other usages connected with baptism and the visitation of the sick (Hardwicke, *Reformation*, pp. 224-229).

¹ Baur says of the Articles: "The dogmatic decisions contained in them were rather Melanchthonian than Lutheran or Calvinian" (*Kirchengeschichte der Neuere Zeit*, p. 385). Perhaps *moderate Calvinism* is as accurate a description of the creed as can be made in a single phrase.

Religious reconstruction in the hearts of the people did not keep pace with the formation of prayer books and creeds. While there were able preachers here and there, the demand for the indoctrination of the masses was far from being adequately met. Not a few had gone far enough to lose confidence in the old faith, but had not yet come close enough to the new to feel its virtue. They were thus left practically destitute of the restraints of religion. Many of the nobles were mere policy Christians, and in their view the best policy was that which would yield the largest spoil. The indeterminate form of the government entailed by the minority of the sovereign hindered a vigilant oversight of affairs and the repression of abuses. The consequence was that there was much plundering of ecclesiastical property, much exhibition of irreverence and irreligion. Such conditions were evidently favorable to a Romish reaction. A strong government, allied with a vigorous system of education and evangelism, might have barred out the reaction and secured the structure already reared. But the early death of Edward prevented the application of needed remedies. At the accession of Mary grave causes of dissatisfaction were ready to assist her in the design of a Roman Catholic restoration.

III. — THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN THE REIGN OF MARY (1553-1558).

The harm which resulted to the Protestant cause from the defective administration under Edward VI. was augmented by the plot of the Duke of Northumberland to change the succession. An unscrupulous ambition was the mainspring of the plot, though the Duke made it appear to the dying King and to others that he was consulting for the perpetuity of the noble system of faith and worship just completed. Lack of public sympathy wrecked his enterprise, and the outcome was a sad list of executions, among which was finally included that of the guileless, devout, and accomplished girl, — victim to the intemperate scheme of those who placed the crown upon her reluctant brow, — the Lady Jane Grey. To add to the disheartening effect of his futile attempt, Northumberland upon the scaffold abjectly recanted his Protestant faith, or rather declared that it had never been his except in pretence.

The accession of Mary, though immediately threatening to the reforms which had been accomplished in the preceding reign, was not understood by the nation to imply a reunion with Rome. Since the death of her mother Catharine, that is, for nearly twenty years, she had professed to accept the Anglo-Catholic system devised by Henry VIII. It was felt, therefore, that she might be content to carry the nation at least no farther back than to that system. Had a different conclusion

been entertained, no small amount of that friendly assistance of all parties which eased her way to the throne would have been withheld.

But the nation misjudged the mind of the Queen. While in her public acts Mary at first recognized the ecclesiastical independence of England, and bore the title which had been conferred in the Act of Supremacy, she at the same time entered into secret communication with the papal court. The national feeling found little response with her. Her heart was with Rome and Spain. By inheritance from her Spanish mother, as well as by memory of the wrongs which her mother had suffered, she was rendered in disposition and sympathy more Spanish than English. Her Spanish bent was speedily revealed in her obstinate determination, contrary to the will of Parliament and the nation at large, to accept the hand of Philip II. The marriage was consummated about a year from the beginning of her reign, the most that the opposition could effect being a careful limitation of the powers of the foreign consort. On the Spanish side the marriage was regarded as a politic step toward the universal monarchy which Charles V. was aspiring to found, and Philip II. treated it as little else than an accessory to political advantage. He remained in the country not much over a year, quite to the satisfaction of the people, but much to the anguish of the Queen, who lavished an affection upon him that he in no wise returned.

The Spanish match was rightly regarded by the discerning as a prophecy of a relentless assault against Protestantism. There was no long waiting for the fulfilment. Toward the close of the year 1554 Cardinal Pole re-

turned to England as papal legate.¹ Measures were now hastened through for subjecting the kingdom to the papacy and the Roman Catholic faith. A subservient Parliament responded to the demands of the court. The whole ecclesiastical legislation of the preceding reigns was swept away, with the exception that it was provided that the property which had been confiscated and secularized should not be restored. Full connection with Rome was resumed. The sanguinary laws against heresy were revived, and a fierce crusade was begun against the Protestants.

The character of the persecution is no subject for doubt or speculation. It was persecution for heresy, for the crime of believing contrary to the mediæval dogmas. The insurrectionary attempts which occurred may have exasperated the authorities. But those who shared in rebellion were hung for that crime. Those who were sent to the stake were condemned on the specific charge of heresy. In many cases the denial of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass was the sole ground of sentence to the fire. No record and no profession of loyalty had any power to rescue. The persecution was not even in pretence anything else than a means of avenging defection from the Roman Catholic faith and of restoring that faith to supremacy.

The chief responsibility for the persecution admits of

¹ Pole, who was related to the royal family, and in his earlier years was highly regarded by Henry VIII., had resided on the Continent since 1532. His return at an earlier date had been rendered impossible by his attempts to concert an armed invasion of England, for the purpose of bringing back the country into the unity of the Church. For a complete account of Pole's career see W. F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. viii., or vol. iii. of the New Series.

more inquiry. Some differences of opinion have been elicited. But most of the grounds needed for a probable conclusion are at hand. These grounds lead us to divide the responsibility between the Queen, her chancellor Stephen Gardiner, Cardinal Pole, and the Queen's Spanish advisers. While Bonner, Bishop of London, won peculiar infamy in the persecution, there is reason to conclude that he was rather the harsh executioner of the victims than a responsible author of their apprehension and arraignment.¹

That the Queen took a leading part in initiating and urging on the severities cannot be questioned. No one of her subordinates excelled her in intolerant zeal or fanatical preference for the Romish Church. As she declared to Parliament, she believed that "she had been predestined and preserved by God to the succession of the crown for no other end save that He might make use of her above all else in the bringing back of the realm to the Catholic faith." In pursuing this end she identified pity with criminal weakness. Edicts issued under her authority express surprise at a relaxation of the prosecutions against heretics, and authorize extreme rigor in dealing with the guilty.² With a zeal mounting into ferocity, a few months before her death she ordered the sheriff of Hampshire immediately to execute a convicted heretic, whose recantation had caused the officer to withhold him from the flames.³

¹ "What made him odious was the vulgar, bullying personalities in which he indulged when the heretic, brought before him as a judge, provoked his angry passions" (Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vii. 311).

² Burnet, *Collection of Records*, part ii. book ii. nos. 20, 32; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 177.

³ Burnet, *Reformation*, ii. 568.

Gardiner's share in the persecution was probably not so great as has sometimes been represented. In restoring the severe laws against heresy he no doubt fulfilled an active part. But in this, however agreeable it may have been to his own way of thinking, he was urged on by the will of the sovereigns.¹ That he was really in favor of persecution is implied by the correspondence of Renard, the ambassador of Charles V.² On the other hand, we have the fact that he stood aloof after the first executions, and that his death, near the end of 1555, placed no check upon the carnival of intolerance. The conclusion seems to be that Gardiner, who was more politician than dogmatist, favored at the outset the execution of some of the influential leaders of the Protestants as a means of terrorism.

Pole has frequently been praised as an exponent of mild and tolerant principles. No doubt his position in previous years had been that of a somewhat liberal Roman Catholic, as opposed to the party of uncompromising bigotry. No doubt he preferred gentle measures when they would avail. But the fact remains that when he was the Queen's most trusted and influential adviser, the executions continued, and that men and women were burned in his own See of Canterbury. He evidently connived at the whole ungodly proceeding, and, more than that, helped it on in its later stages.³ He either did not wish to check the persecution, or else

¹ Ranke, *History of England*, i. 204, 209; Massingberd, *The English Reformation*, p. 429.

² Such at least is the inference from Froude's references to that correspondence (*History of England*, vi. 196, 197).

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 173, 174.

did not dare to do so, lest he should give countenance to the charge of heresy which was cast out against himself by the fanatical Pope.¹

As respects the Spanish advisers of the Queen, two facts might appear to be in favor of their exculpation. The ambassador of Charles V., while he urged to great rigor against rebels, opposed persecution for heresy as being impolitic; and the chaplain of Philip II. publicly criticised the burning of the distinguished victims with which the crusade opened, declaring that such violent methods were contrary to the spirit of the gospel. As to the first of these facts, it may be replied that the politic ambassador could not compel the Spanish theologians who had access to the Queen to see with his eyes. Moreover, a historian of that nation has given credit to Carranza, who became the Queen's confessor, for bringing many, and among them Archbishop Cranmer, to the flames.² As to the sermon of the royal chaplain in favor of tolerance, it was simply a piece of official hypocrisy to ward off odium from Philip, whose popularity at best came near a perilous deficit. The same chaplain, Alphonso de Castro, was the author of a book on the *Just Punishment of Heretics*, — previously published, and published again after the sermon, — in which the violent repression of heresy is explicitly advocated.³ On the whole, it is difficult to escape the

¹ Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, viii. 384–391.

² Fernandez, quoted by Massingberd, p. 436.

³ The following will serve as a specimen: "Nullum est gravius haeresi peccatum, nullum est ergo crimen, cujus odium sit Christiano viro magis incutiendum, et inde per consequens sequitur, ut nullum sit crimen pro quo justius aliquis possit occidi, quam pro haeresi fixa et insanabili. Si Martinus Lutherus cum primum coepit effundere venenum suum, et legi-

conviction that the Spanish advisers of the Queen, Philip himself included, helped to supply fuel to her intolerant zeal.

During the persecution about two hundred and eighty persons were burned at the stake, nearly a hundred, as is computed, died in prison, while many hundreds purchased safety by exile. The stamp of peculiar infamy which attaches to the reign of Mary is due not so much to the number of the victims as to the mode and the grounds of their execution. The burning of two hundred and eighty persons for heresy in the space of three and a half years stands without parallel in English history. The preceding one hundred and fifty years, during which the Lollard Statute had been in force, fails to give record of such an aggregate of victims ; while the long reign of Elizabeth presents five instances of burning for heresy, and that of James I. adds two more. Other reigns were disfigured by violent persecutions ; but in the unique horror of burning men alive for their religious opinions, the reign of Mary Tudor must bear forever in English annals an odious distinction.¹

time admonitus noluit respicere, fuisset (ut decebat) capitis animadversione punitus, caeteri timorem habuissent, et non prorupissent tot tanque pestiferæ hæreticorum factiones, quales, proh dolor, hodie Germania sustinet (De Justa Hæreticorum Punitone, lib. ii. cap. xii., Antverpiæ, 1568).

¹ Tierney, a Roman Catholic priest, whose learned notes have added much to Dodd's Church History, makes this candid acknowledgment: "As to the number and character of the sufferers, certain it is that no allowances can relieve the horror, no palliatives can remove the infamy, that must forever attach to these proceedings. The amount of real victims is too great to be affected by any partial deductions. Were the catalogue limited to a few persons, we might pause to examine the merits of each individual case ; but when after the removal of every doubtful

Among the first to suffer were Rogers, Bishop Hooper, Lawrence Sanders, Bishop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and Bradford. It is narrated of Rogers, who was the protomartyr of this reign, that he seemed to be transported above all sense of pain, and bathed his hands in the flames as if they had been cold water. Sanders kissed the stake, and died exclaiming: "Welcome, the cross of Christ! Welcome, everlasting life!" Taylor journeyed toward the place of his execution as toward a place of pleasant fellowship and rest. Coming within two miles of Hadleigh, he cheerfully remarked: "Now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house!"

But the victims, who from their eminence attracted most attention, were Latimer, formerly Bishop of Worcester, Ridley, Bishop of London, and Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Ridley and Latimer were burned at Oxford, Oct. 16, 1555. Cranmer was burned at the same place, March 21, 1556.

If he was not the most scholarly of the three, Latimer is perhaps the most interesting on account of his strongly marked individuality. As respects doctrine, it was only by slow degrees that he broke away from the Roman Catholic system. His interest was preëminently on the side of the practical, and the staple of his sermons corresponded. In the pulpit he rarely indulged in theological subtleties, his aim being to quicken the conscience

or objectionable name, a frightful list of not fewer than two hundred still remains, we can only turn with horror from the blood-stained page, and be thankful that such things have passed away" (Dodd's Church History, ii. 107).

of the people, and to lead them to a devout and upright life. In pursuance of this aim he used plain language and homely illustrations, though never descending into vulgarity. The simplicity and directness of his sermons were a reflex of the man. "He was," says Demaus, "a straightforward, upright man, who meant what he said, and practised what he taught; one who never sunk the man in the mere theological polemic, in whose eyes sin was always worse than error, and a pure life of more importance than a mere orthodox creed. This love of practical religion it was Latimer's mission to infuse into the English Reformation."¹ With this simplicity, honesty, and love of practical piety Latimer joined an equally courageous and humorous bent. He had indeed his hour of weakness, and under the great pressure that was brought to bear upon him (1532) signed a list of articles which carried with them implications that he strongly opposed in heart. But on the whole he was a man of conspicuous courage. He reminded the highest of their duty and responsibility with the same freedom as the humblest. He did not shun to address this bold charge to Henry VIII. while urging him to remove the prohibition against the circulation of the Bible: "Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself; have pity upon your soul; and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword." Latimer had the qualities of the true censor. The moral earnestness, directness, and fire with which he sent home his denunciations of wrong remind of the Jewish prophet. At the same time he escaped the unpleasant impression

¹ Biography of Hugh Latimer, p. 525.

which is apt to be made by the censor's office, through his abounding humor. His humor, indeed, was a prominent element of his power, a chief means of stamping truth upon the hearts of the people or of putting opponents to rout. Among other instances we have the following: A friar, whom his brethren put forward to answer the popular preacher, had argued from the pulpit that if the people were allowed to read the Bible, they would pervert the meaning and be led utterly astray. The ploughman, reading that no man having put his hand to the plough should look back, would soon forsake his labor; the baker, reading that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, would make nothing but insipid bread; and simple people, following the command to pluck out the offending right eye, would soon fill England with the spectacle of blind beggars. The next Sunday Latimer undertook to reply to his critic, who was present with his friar's hood. "As for the comparisons," said he, "drawn from the *plough*, the *leaven*, and the *eye*, is it necessary to justify these passages of Scripture? Must I tell you what plough, what leaven, what eye is here meant? Is not our Lord's teaching distinguished by those expressions which under a popular form conceal a spiritual and profound meaning? Do we not know that in all languages and in all speeches it is not on the *image* that we must fix our eyes, but on the *thing* which the image represents? For instance," he continued, as he looked straight at the friar, "if we see a fox painted preaching in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which so often are disguised in that garb." The confusion of the poor friar at this point

can better be imagined than told. Latimer's humor followed him to the end. The chamber of the Tower, where he was confined, prior to his transference to Oxford, being very badly heated, he complained to the jailer, and told him that if the government intended to burn him, they ought to see to it that they did not suffer him first to freeze to death. By this time Latimer had become bowed down by age and infirmity.

Ridley was less in years and less probably in popular power, but he ranked high in scholarship and general ability. Burnet commends him as being "for learning and solid judgment the ablest man of all that advanced the Reformation."¹ He was comely in person, persuasive in address, courteous in manners, and exemplary in the ordering of his life. In debate he was ready and apt. His answer, during his examination, to the miserable pretence that the Church exercises no severity, was perhaps the best that has ever been given. "I thank the court," said he, "for their gentleness, being the same that Christ had of the high priest. He said that it was not lawful for him to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, yet would he not suffer him to absolve Him, though he sought by all the means he might to do so."

The undaunted spirit with which Ridley looked forward to the hour of supreme trial appears in these words written a few months before his martyrdom: "All of us here are in good health and comfort, watching with our lamps alight, when it shall please our Master, the bridegroom, to call us to wait upon him

¹ History of the Reformation, ii. 496.

unto the marriage feast." At the stake a sermon was preached in honor of the Romish faith. Ridley, wishing to reply, was told that he could not do so unless he would renounce his false opinions. To this he responded, that as long as the breath was in his body, he would never deny his Lord Christ and His known truth. Latimer bore himself with equal bravery, and as he saw a blazing fagot laid at Ridley's feet encouraged his companion with the memorable words: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

Archbishop Cranmer was a man to whom unqualified praise cannot be awarded. He exhibited, it is true, highly commendable traits. He was very ready to overlook a personal injury. He was full of kindness to the poor and the unfortunate, and assisted them liberally with his means. He opposed some of the more cruel measures of Henry VIII. with commendable courage. Some of his apparent inconsistencies may be explained as the result of the peculiarities of his position and of the times. He lived in a transition age, and his own mind was in more or less of a transition state. He was not a man like Calvin, pushing his reasonings far and wide into the field upon which he entered, and speedily and decisively grasping a new set of opinions. It was but gradually that he abandoned old opinions for new, so that with good conscience he may have countenanced at one time persecution for articles of faith which he himself finally adopted. A good degree of charity also should be extended to him for apparently acting in some instances below the

standard of a courageous and straightforward man. To one so reverent of kingship what temptation more trying than that imposed by the will of a prince from whom he has received abundant favors? How easy to entertain the suggestion that it is better to hold on to one's place in spite of some unwelcome compliance to royal wishes than to give over that place to an utter enemy of the good cause? Such considerations may palliate, but cannot excuse the conduct of Cranmer. He was pliant in a very unworthy degree to the arbitrary will of Henry VIII. His final recantation, also, to save himself from the fate of Ridley and Latimer, argues against his moral heroism and steadfastness. After all that may be said about the subtle arts with which he was plied, about the diligence employed to flatter him and awaken his love of life, it still remains true that he yielded and denied the faith of his heart. No great stress needs to be laid upon the fact that his recantation was sixfold. After the first disavowal, the remaining were drawn on by natural sequence. The probable history of the affair is well expressed by Strype. "The unhappy prelate," says he, "by overpersuasion wrote one paper with his subscription set to it, which he thought to pen so favorably and dexterously for himself that he might evade both the danger of the State and the danger of his conscience too. That would not serve, but another was required as explanatory of that. And when he had complied with that, yet, either because written too briefly or too ambiguously, neither would that serve but drew on a third, fuller and more expressive than the former. Nor could he escape so ; but still a fourth and fifth paper of

recantation were demanded of him to be more large and particular. Nay, and lastly a sixth, which was very prolix, containing an acknowledgment of all the forsaken and detested errors and superstitions of Rome.”¹

Notwithstanding the recantation, it was decided that Cranmer must die. The man who had taken a leading part in making null the marriage of Catharine of Aragon, and in causing the nation to stray from Roman supremacy, could obtain no mercy under a Spanish sceptre. Never did malice and bigotry more signally defeat their own intent. In order to make the most of the degraded Primate, he was allowed to address the people prior to his execution, his judges making no question but that he would urge unqualified submission to the Roman Catholic Church. But another spirit was in Cranmer in that hour. The fear of torture and death was at length mastered, and he closed his address with declarations that astonished his judges. After making a total recall of his recantation, he added: “And forasmuch as my hand has offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished; for when I come to the fire it shall be first burned.” Cranmer kept his promise. As the flames leaped up about him, the offending hand was stretched forth that it might be first burned.²

¹ *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 391. The text and the circumstances of the recantations are given by Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vii. 394-407.

² The details of the scene are given in a letter of a Roman Catholic witness, quoted in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and also in Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*.

The pathos of Cranmer's repentance was well-nigh as effectual as would have been an example of true martyrdom. Indeed, weakness atoned for and triumphed over at last in such a signal manner, probably touched the hearts of many, who stood in doubt of their own ability to endure the fiery ordeal, more deeply than would a record of unswerving steadfastness. His death helped on the invincible recoil against Romanism which the work of blood was creating in the minds of the people. It was significant of a profound reaction when a lady wrote to Bonner, "You have lost the hearts of twenty thousand, that were rank Papists, within these twelve months." "The martyrs alone," says Froude, "broke the spell of orthodoxy, and made the establishment of the Reformation possible."

Mary died Nov. 17, 1558. If her reign had been unhappy for her subjects, it was no less so for herself, and her life went out in the midst of deep shadows. Afflicted by ill health, miserably deceived in her hope of an heir, neglected by Philip whom she worshipped, humiliated by national reverses, particularly the loss of Calais, making herself hated by her subjects through a persecution which she counted her bounden duty to God and the Church, opposed and plagued at last by the Pope, compelled in self-respect to shelve the requirements of the very pontiff whom she was laboring to enthrone over the consciences of her subjects, Mary had cause enough to die broken-hearted.

Cardinal Pole survived the Queen but a few hours. The bells which notified him of her departure sounded the knell for his great enterprise. Four years before he had stretched forth his hands over the prostrate

representatives of the nation in Parliament, and with quiet but deep exultation had accepted their submission and proclaimed England restored to the unity of the Church. Now he was dying, himself under the papal frown,¹ and every day making it more manifest that the great scene of the nation's reconciliation to Rome was an empty pageant, a solemn farce.

IV. — PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (1558-1603).

Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, came to the throne without opposition. During the reign of her half-sister Mary her life had hung by a thread. Gardiner had a will to "go roundly to work" with her, and Mary at times was possessed with a similar inclination. But the revolt of the popular mind against the sacrifice of the princess, and the danger of aggrandizing France beyond measure by leaving Mary Stuart the nearest heir to the English crown, served as an effectual shield to Elizabeth. Severities against her were limited to imprisonment, and the demand that she should conform to

¹ The hostility of the Pope to Spain had eventuated in war in 1557. As England assisted Philip II. against France, the Pope's ally, Paul IV. gave token of his displeasure in cancelling Pole's legation. At the same time, reviving an old grudge, he cited him to Rome to prove there his soundness in the faith. "The citation of Pole to appear before the Inquisition, as a reputed heretic, was never revoked. He who in England was condemning to the stake was afraid to appear in Rome, lest the furnace he heated for others might be heated sevenfold for himself" (Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, viii 353, 354).

the Roman Catholic mode of worship, — a demand to which Elizabeth could accede without large sacrifice of personal scruples. Though not a few may have entertained the suspicion that she would go wrong in her religious policy, the nation generally gave her a welcome.

It was not as the enthusiastic champion of any particular faith that Elizabeth began to rule. She proclaimed no purpose to revolutionize the existing order of things. For a time she even continued to attend Mass. Equally remote from the spirit of radical Protestantism and from Roman Catholic bigotry, she was more nearly akin in disposition to a Lorenzo de' Medici and other representatives of the Italian humanism than to a Calvin or a Pius V. Without ambition for speculative clearness, concerned more for æsthetics than for logic, she preferred a sort of mean between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant schemes. While superior to the grosser phases of traditional Romanism, she liked much of the old ritual, was decidedly in favor of the celibacy of the priesthood,¹ insisted upon having a crucifix in her chapel, and would have opened the churches to images but for the resolute opposition of the bishops. Prescribed ceremony was more to her taste than free address, and on one occasion she expressed the conviction that four or five preachers were enough for a county. She disliked irregularities, and could be tyrannical in assert-

¹ Cecil wrote to Archbishop Parker in 1561: "Her Majesty continueth very ill affected to the state of matrimony in the clergy; and if I were not therein very stiff, her Majesty would utterly and openly condemn and forbid it" (Strype's Parker, i. 214.)

ing her high notions of the royal prerogative. But it was only outward uniformity that she insisted upon. She had too little dogmatic zeal to be interested to force her individual creed upon her subjects. Like Cecil, her chief counsellor, who served her so faithfully during her long reign, she made the political the dominant standpoint. She held that an independent style of worship would be a disorderly and disrupting factor in the realm; but with private belief, or with a moderate expression of private belief, she did not care to interfere, provided the belief was not in its very terms a challenge to the legitimacy of her rule.

However far Elizabeth might have been willing to tolerate Romanism, she was forced, by her position, to renounce its claims. The fanatical Pope, who had demanded more than even Mary was willing to concede, naturally failed to come to any agreement with Elizabeth. His requirement that she should submit her right to the crown to his decision provoked, of course, the scorn and aversion of the proud Queen, and forestalled every thought in her mind of acknowledging the papal headship.¹

Parliament, in 1559, restored the Act of Supremacy, by which the sovereign was made the head, or, as the new version of the title ran, *Supreme Governor* of the English Church. The Act included a clause empowering the Queen to name commissioners for the exercise of her ecclesiastical authority. On this clause was

¹ On the demand of Paul IV., see Sarpi, *Istoria del Concil. Trid.*, lib. v.; Pallavicino, lib. xiv. According to Sarpi, Paul IV. carried his ill-timed boldness so far as to mention the feudal dependence of England upon the Roman See.

founded the Court of High Commission, destined to win an evil name by its arbitrary proceedings. The royal supremacy was supported by penalties ranging from forfeiture of goods and chattels to the pains of high treason, according to the number of the offence. The same year the Act of Uniformity was passed, requiring every minister to use none other than the established Liturgy, under pain, for the first offence, of forfeiting goods; for the second, of a year's imprisonment; for the third, of imprisonment during life. To secure the conformity of the laity, absence from church without reasonable excuse was made punishable by fines. Very little show of opposition was made to these measures. The bishops, indeed, with one exception, refused to comply with the demands of the government, and were deposed. But out of nine thousand and four hundred clergy only about two hundred lost their positions by a decided refusal to accept the new order of things.¹ Some revision was made of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. A few items most obnoxious to Romish prejudice were omitted or modified. The Forty-two Articles which had been propounded under Edward were reduced by convocation, in 1563, to the Thirty-Nine which have held their place in the English Church down to the present. These articles were confirmed by Parliament in 1571, and subscription to them was made obligatory upon all priests and teachers of religion. By an Act of 1563 all holders of office, lay or spiritual, were

¹ Strype, *Annals*, i. 255; Neal, *History of the Puritans*, i. 82, ed. 1842. A larger number probably evaded the requirement. Not a few rendered only a partial and mixed conformity.

required to take oath of allegiance to the Queen, and to abjure the temporal authority of the Pope. A second refusal of the oath was to be reckoned as treason. But it would seem that there was no serious intention to use all the rigor which the Act legitimated; for instructions were given that great caution should be employed in tendering the oath to Romish recusants, and that it should in no case be proffered a second time without previous consultation with the higher authorities.

In general, the actual dealing with Roman Catholics in the early part of Elizabeth's reign was much milder than the laws. No doubt it was only a maimed sort of tolerance which they enjoyed, and individuals were subjected to considerable hardships. But, as has been freely allowed by Roman Catholic writers,¹ there was no general and severe persecution. Elizabeth had been on the throne nearly twenty years before a single priest was capitally punished for what any one would wish to call the exercise of his religion.² But thereafter severities were greatly multiplied, and we have the record that before the end of the reign of Elizabeth about two hundred — a large proportion of whom were priests — had been executed, and several score had died in prison.³ It is a question, however, to what extent these executions fall under the category of religious persecution. The government certainly based them on political rather than on religious grounds. It is

¹ Charles Butler, *Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics*, 3d ed., i. 345-347, 352, 353.

² Strype's *Parker*, ii. 134.

³ Dodd's *Church History*, iii. 159-170; Butler, i. 398.

true that the laws under which capital infictions took place allowed any active propagation of the Roman Catholic religion to be construed as treason. This was especially the case after the year 1584, when all Jesuits, missionary priests from foreign seminaries, and priests ordained since the first year of the reign, were made liable to be adjudged traitors if found within the kingdom after a certain date. But, on the other hand, as appears from the statements of Cecil and Walsingham, the government claimed that those who suffered came to their deaths in reality as agents and abettors of an assault against the throne.¹ How far this claim was well founded will appear from the following facts: (1) In the year 1569 a rebellion was started under the auspices of some of the leading nobles, the avowed object of which was the restoration of the old religion. The rebellion was also in the interest of the Queen of Scots, and there is no reasonable ground to doubt that if it had come to a successful issue Elizabeth would have been dethroned in favor of the Scottish queen. (2) In 1570 Pope Pius V. declared Elizabeth deposed, proclaimed her subjects absolved from all allegiance to her, and forbade them to obey her under pain of excommunication.² (3) The same Pope welcomed the project which was negotiated by Ridolfi, in 1571, for dethroning Elizabeth by means of a Spanish invasion. In this plot, whether with or without the Pope's cognizance, the assassination of Elizabeth, as an advantageous preliminary to the invasion, was coolly discussed.³

¹ Hallam, *Constitutional History*, chap. iii.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 260, 261; Collier, *Eccl. Hist.*, vi. 471-474.

³ Froude, x. 208, 250; Green, ii. 382, 383.

(4) The successor of Pius V., besides appointing a jubilee in honor of the Saint Bartholomew massacre, patronized an insurrection in Ireland in 1579, as a preparation for a descent upon England. (5) The attempt of Philip II. to conquer England was at the same time a papal project, and was preceded by the stipulation that Philip should hold the crown of that kingdom as a fief of the Holy See.¹ (6) The immediate heads of the party upon whom the capital sentence was mainly inflicted were the industrious allies of Rome and Spain in the whole series of projects for invading England and dethroning Elizabeth. We refer to William Allen, who inaugurated the scheme of foreign seminaries as training schools for Roman Catholic refugees from England,² and to Robert Persons (or Parsons), the superior of the Jesuit mission in the English realm. In 1576 the earliest of the foreign seminaries began to pour its missionary priests across the channel, and in 1580 the first contingent of Jesuits, including the eloquent and ill-fated Campian, entered the country and engaged actively in the work of reviving Romish zeal and devotion. It is probably true that the seminary priests and Jesuits were not sent out with any commission for political conspiracy, and that most of those who came to the scaffold had not been guilty of any specific effort for the overthrow of the government. But it is undoubtedly true, on the other hand, that their supe-

¹ Ranke, *History of England*, i. 318.

² These seminaries, with the dates of their foundation, are given as follows: Douay, 1569 (temporarily transferred to Rheims); Rome, 1579; Valladolid, 1589; Seville, 1593; St. Omer, 1596; Madrid, 1606; Louvain, 1606; Liege, 1616; Ghent, 1624.

riors were active agents and organizers of political revolution;¹ that they themselves declined to render a satisfactory denial of the Pope's authority to depose the Queen;² and that they would have powerfully assisted any promising attempt at revolution inaugurated under the papal sanction. In their own view, indeed, they were martyrs for religion, and there is no need to deny them the honor of a self-sacrificing and heroic devotion to their cause. At the same time the government cannot be blamed for regarding them as agents for executing the revolutionary schemes of their acknowledged head the Pope of Rome, though the capital inflections, in the absence of clear proof of direct complicity in treasonable attempts, must be condemned.

Six years after the Jesuit emissaries entered England came the culminating conspiracy. A seminary priest by the name of Ballard is supposed to have been the prime mover, though the conspiracy takes its name from Babington, a young gentleman who engaged with several companions to kill the Queen. The plot, which included in its design assassination, insurrection, and invasion, was avenged in the blood of the chief English confederates, and drew after itself a consequence no less serious than the execution of Mary Stuart. She had been a

¹ Butler, i. 419-422. Berington, a Roman Catholic priest, complains bitterly of Persons as a restless intriguer (Steinmetz, *History of the Jesuits*).

² Butler, i. 429, 430; Berington, *Introduction to Memoirs of Panzani*, quoted by Blunt, *Reformation of the Church of England*, ii. 459. Berington criticises those who were arraigned as follows: "They seemed to consider themselves as the subjects of a foreign master, whose sovereignty was paramount and whose will was supreme."

prisoner in England for a long time, and by virtue of her position as a Roman Catholic and the next claimant after Elizabeth to the English throne, was the centre, whether with or without her knowledge, of all Romish plots. Being declared guilty of complicity in the Babington conspiracy, she was brought to the scaffold in 1587. This startling act of vengeance urged to a speedy execution against England of a great project which had been under consideration, and in 1588 the Grand Armada set sail from Spain, to be destroyed by British valor and the fury of wind and wave.

The unpatriotic and treasonable course of the more zealous and bigoted section of English Romanists naturally tended to the disadvantage of the much larger number who had showed exemplary loyalty and patience, and helped greatly toward the ascendancy of Protestantism. If the majority of the older generation still inwardly maintained their preference for the old faith, a majority of the younger generation in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign were well purged of any inclination to Romanism. The instruction of the people passed gradually from the hands of priests who had reluctantly abandoned the Romish rites to those who had an inward sympathy with Protestantism, and whose influence was also aided by better morals than had characterized the old order. "By the close of the Queen's reign the moral temper as well as the social character of the clergy had greatly changed. Scholars like Hooker could now be found in the ranks of the priesthood, and the grosser scandals which disgraced the clergy as a body for the most part disappeared. . . . The influence of the new clergy was backed by a general revolution in English

thought. The grammar schools were diffusing a new knowledge and mental energy through the middle classes and among the country gentry. The tone of the Universities — no unfair test of the tone of the nation at large — changed wholly as the Queen's reign went on. At its opening Oxford was a 'nest of Papists,' and sent its best scholars to feed the Catholic seminaries; at its close the University was a hotbed of Puritanism."¹

In mentioning Puritanism we have mentioned Elizabeth's thorn in the flesh. Indeed she hated the Puritans not a whit less than she did the radical Papists.

As previously indicated, the rise of the Puritans is explained by the conservative cast which the English Reformation assumed under the supervision of the crown. To ardent minds it seemed that the movement was hindered from reaching its proper goal. Familiarity with foreign models increased their dissatisfaction. Many who had been exiled in the reign of Mary, came back from Strasburg, from Geneva, or from Zurich, with a pronounced distaste for pomp and prelacy. They began to criticise, to make protests, to seek amendments of the established worship and polity. They were answered with persecution, and persecution naturally urged them to more uncompromising views. Being placed under constraint by the crown, while they commanded a large following in Parliament, they were naturally inclined to be advocates of Parliamentary privilege. Moreover, the type of government which they favored in the Church could hardly fail to suggest to their minds that civil government is best ordered

¹ Green, *History of the English People*, ii. 404, 405.

where the monarchical feature, if not eliminated, is at least restricted.¹

In the first years of Elizabeth the feature of the establishment which was specially obnoxious to the radical reformers was the use of the surplice and other vestments which had a popular association with the Romish worship. The imposition of these habits was nothing more than a piece of governmental policy or prejudice. The people were not fond of them. The bishops with few, if any, exceptions would gladly have dispensed with them.² But Elizabeth was pertinacious in the demand that her servants should appear in the prescribed livery. In addition to the obnoxious vestments, there were certain ceremonies and practices which evoked censure.³

Between 1570 and 1572 the controversy advanced to a more serious stage, and the constitution of the Church, as well as its fashions, was called in question. Under the lead of Thomas Cartwright, whose views caused his ejection from Cambridge University, it began to be

¹ Compare Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 44, 45.

² Neal, *History of the Puritans*, i. 92, 93; Soames, *Elizabethan Religious History*, chap. i.; Zurich Letters, nos. xv., lx., c., and cxi., ed. 1846.

³ The petition presented to James I. at his accession indicates the points relating to the church service upon which most stress was laid. Neal gives them thus: "That the cross in baptism, the interrogatories to infants, baptism by women, and confirmation may be taken away; that examination may go before the communion; that the ring in marriage may be dispensed with; that the service may be abridged; church songs and music moderated to better edification; that the Lord's day may not be profaned, nor the observation of other holidays strictly enjoined; that ministers may not be charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus; and that none but canonical scriptures be read in the Church" (i. 228).

asserted that the Scriptures gave no warrant either for the name or the function of archbishop or archdeacon, and that the powers of the bishops ought to be greatly retrenched. In fact, a distinct attack was made upon prelacy, and the leaning of the Puritans to an essentially presbyterian type of church government was made manifest. Cartwright, in his controversy with Whitgift, maintained at once the binding obligation of the New Testament model, the parity of the original bishops among themselves, and the limitation of their oversight to a single congregation.¹

While the Puritans considered themselves justified in a measure of non-conformity, they were not for the most part separatists. Some of their number, it is true, withdrew into separate congregations. We read of one of their assemblies in London being broken up by the authorities in 1567, and a hundred of its members being put under arrest. Separation, however, was not the approved policy. The more distinguished representatives of the Puritan party thought it better to remain in the Church and to labor for its reformation. The advocacy of separation, as a matter of principle, became especially characteristic of those who held the most democratic views of church government, who contended for the self-governing faculty of each individual congregation, and thus became the fathers of the Independents or Congregationalists. Such were Robert Brown, Barrowe, Greenwood, and Robinson. As refusing communion with the Established Church and sharply assailing its constitution, they were treated with great

¹ A convenient summary of his arguments is given in B. Brook's *Memoir of Cartwright*, chaps. iii. and v.

severity. Some found refuge in Holland. Several, including Barrowe and Greenwood, were sentenced to death under a harsh and forced construction of the Libel Act.¹

From the year 1564 to the end of the reign of Elizabeth the work of disciplining the Puritans was one of the constant tasks of the government. If the zeal of the bishops relaxed in this work, the Queen's sceptre became a goad to urge them forward. Parker, her first archbishop, served her as a faithful instrument, though not without some inward reluctance. Grindal, who followed, earned her displeasure by too great a leaning to liberty. Her third archbishop, the energetic and dogmatic Whitgift, needed no spur. Under his administration the Court of High Commission became an effective instrument of ecclesiastical rigor. With unlimited prerogative of inquiry it combined the right to fine and imprison. Being largely determined in its operations by the archbishop, it had the odious character which attaches to a personal despotism. But if Whitgift did not save his reputation, he gained his immediate aim. He had the satisfaction of seeing the Puritans checked and non-conformity greatly restrained. His satisfaction, however, would have been much less, could he have foreseen that the check was only as a dam to heap up waters whose accumulated force would soon loosen the foundation stones of the ecclesiastical structure.

While the Puritans suffered from the intolerance of

¹ The feeling of the authorities had been exasperated against the sectaries by a series of violent tracts, dating from 1588, and known as the *Martin Mar-Prelate tracts*.

their opponents, they were not themselves advocates of tolerance. They believed generally in an established religion, and in substantial penalties for offences against religion. As respects the relations of Church and State, they contended not for a divorce, but for an adjustment which should leave the Church in a less servile relation to the civil power.

It is noteworthy that throughout the first stages of the Puritan controversy the upholders of the established polity took a moderate ground as respects its sanctions. They were content to maintain that it was agreeable to Scripture and to Christian history, and, as being introduced by the lawful authority of the realm, should be accepted by all loyal subjects. They did not dream of asserting for it an exclusive validity. The arbitrary and sectarian notion that the New Testament authoritatively prescribes a specific form of church government came from the Puritan rather than from the prelatical party. A high presbyterian preceded a high episcopal theory. Cranmer and his associates had no thought of the divine right of episcopacy. To unchurch those who were living under a presbyterian economy, or to dispute the proper ministerial character of those who had received only presbyterian ordination, did not enter the heads of the great body of Elizabethan divines.¹ Even a man of such controversial and high-church instincts as Whitgift, made episcopacy nothing more than an admissible and desirable institute. He used language involving an unqualified denial of its necessity, in that he declared against the necessity of any one specific type of polity. "I find,"

¹ Macaulay, i. 56, 57.

he says, "no one certain and perfect kind of government prescribed or commanded in the Scriptures to the Church of Christ. . . . Notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be a part of the Church, touching the outward form and perfection of it, yet it is not such a part of the essence and being, but that it may be the Church of Christ, without this or that kind of government."¹ Richard Hooker, who took up the controversy, and in his "*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*" made the most celebrated reply to the teachings of Cartwright, argued from the same standpoint. He remarks: "He which affirmeth speech to be necessary among all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language; even so the necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all."² Hooker, to be sure, thinks the Scriptures favorable, rather than otherwise, to episcopacy. "If we did seek," he says, "to maintain that which most advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us and strongest against them were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture there must needs be some particular form of church polity which God hath instituted, and which for that very cause belongeth to all churches, to all times."³ That Hooker refused to proceed in this way, which he regarded as controversially most advantageous, shows the clearness of his conviction that it was a way of falsehood. The advantage, however, which the gifted author declined to use, men of a dif-

¹ Works, i. 184, 185, Parker Society edition.

² Book iii. chap. ii.

³ Book iii. chap. x.

ferent calibre were beginning to seize upon. A sermon by Bancroft in 1589 (or February, 1588, by the old reckoning) announced the divine right of episcopacy.¹ This was novel doctrine at that time, and was far from claiming general acceptance even among those not infected with Puritanism. It appears also that the first advocates of the doctrine hesitated to carry it to its extreme consequences. Early in the reign of James I. the Convocation of Canterbury, under the presidency of Bancroft, adopted a canon which was plainly meant to recognize the Scottish Church — then without any regular episcopacy — as a part of "Christ's holy Catholic Church."² Again, in 1610, at the consecration of the Scottish bishops, Archbishop Bancroft declined the suggestion of Andrews, Bishop of Ely, that the candidates, as not having received episcopal ordination, should first be ordained presbyters, maintaining "that thereof there was no necessity, seeing where bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the presbyters must be esteemed lawful, otherwise it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches."³ It was not to be expected, however, that the subject would rest at this point. The claim of divine right must be followed by more intolerant pretensions, else we should observe here an

¹ So the sermon has commonly been interpreted, though Hallam fails to find in it so large a meaning. G. G. Perry regards the sermon as marking a new era in the controversy by asserting for episcopacy that divine right which the opposing party had claimed for presbytery (*History of the Church of England*, pp. 343, 344. Compare Hook, *Archbishops*, x. 195).

² Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii. 282.

³ Spottiswood, *History of the Church of Scotland*, iii. 209, ed. 1851.

exception to the general tendency of ecclesiastical hierarchies, Christian or pagan, to forget moderation, when once started on the road to self-deification. We shall find Bancroft's doctrine bearing fruit in the time of Laud. Nor is it a barren doctrine in our own day; for the whole scheme of sacramental magic which is taught by modern ritualism hangs upon the doctrine of the divine right and unbroken succession of bishops, as channels of authority and grace.

While the Puritan controversy ruffled the ecclesiastical surface, the general condition of the English nation, during the later years of Elizabeth, was one of peace and prosperity. After the defeat of the Spanish Armada the danger of foreign invasion, which had hung as a threatening cloud upon the horizon, was no longer a cause of serious apprehension. In this time of lessened tension English talent reached its opportunity to anglicize the Renaissance, and the era was begun which is immortalized by the names of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Bacon.

V. — THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

The crisis of the Scotch Reformation occurred soon after the accession of Elizabeth. It may be located in the year 1560, when the practice of the Romish religion was made a penal offence.

In Scotland the Reformation was naturally accompanied by much of storm and violence. The government had scarcely passed beyond the feudal stage. The nobles divided the power with the throne. A common-

alty possessed of any direct political significance was unknown in Scotland up to the middle of the sixteenth century. The hardy spirit and Bible doctrines of John Knox and his co-laborers first wrought into the Scotch commons the temper which made them a real factor in the State. Hitherto the mass of the people had ranked as retainers of the feudal lords, and had been rather the instrument of their jealousies and ambitions than a check upon their caprices. Civil disturbance was consequently an ever recurring event. Nearly the whole history of the Stuart dynasty down to the era of religious revolution was a history of ineffectual struggle with faction. James I. was assassinated. James II. had repeated experience of rebellion. James III. was slain in his flight from the battle-field. James V. died of chagrin and despair under the humiliations which the resentment of the nobles had brought upon him.¹ Thus the record continues until new causes of agitation blend with the old.

One of the incentives to a rupture with the Romish Church was the corrupt state of the clergy. In very few districts of Europe were the lower ranks of ecclesiastics equally distinguished for superstition and ignorance, while their superiors, besides grasping after a chief place in worldly grandeur and rule, set an example of unblushing profligacy. Such dignitaries as the primates Beaton and Hamilton, in brazen disregard of decency, neglected even to take the trouble to conceal their immoralities. "They flared their amours in the face of the world, as if proud of the soundness of their

¹ His death occurred in 1542, a few days after the birth of that most ill-fated of all the Stuarts, Mary, Queen of Scots.

taste for beauty, and of the rank and birth that had become prostrate to their solicitation.”¹

Another incentive not less powerful, at least with the nobles, was the great wealth in the hands of ecclesiastics. The clergy are said to have possessed about half the property of the realm. The nobles, with their instincts for plunder, naturally looked with covetous eyes towards this spoil. Froude's emphatic words on this point may be accepted without any great discount: “The gaunt and hungry nobles of Scotland, careless most of them of God or the devil, were eying the sleek and well-fed clergy like a pack of famished wolves.”²

A third motive-power was the teaching and hearty conviction of men devoted to gospel truth. Here was the true leaven of the movement, the spiritual might which gave to Europe and to civilization a regenerated Scotland.

As in England, so also in Scotland, remnants of the Lollard sect were at hand to give a welcome to the reform movement.³ Tyndale's New Testament also reached the latter country nearly as soon as the former. The beginnings thus made were improved upon by a young nobleman, Patrick Hamilton, who during a sojourn in Germany had been confirmed in an enthusiastic love for the principles of the Reformation. It was only for a brief space, however, that he was allowed to act the part of the confessor and the advocate. The fire of his martyrdom was kindled in 1528. In the midst of the flames he was heard to pronounce

¹ Burton, *History of Scotland*, iii. 22.

² *History of England*, vii. 108.

³ M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p. 4.

these words : " How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm? How long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." ¹ The burning took place under the auspices of Archbishop Beaton, uncle of the more famous Cardinal of the same name, who succeeded him in the see of St. Andrews. Among the rewards which the prelate gained by the transaction was a congratulatory letter from the Louvain doctors. ² It proved to be, however, a poor discretion which dictated the congratulation. The heroic death of Hamilton awakened a wide-spread interest. Others were found equal to the fiery ordeal, and the names of about half a score of witnesses who suffered in the next fifteen years are recorded. ³ A cessation of severities occurred during the first years of the regency of Arran, but it was soon apparent to the Protestants that it was perilous ground upon which they stood. In 1546 a distinguished evangelist, George Wishart, was sent to the stake. His cruel fate greatly stimulated the animosity which for years had been accumulating against Cardinal Beaton, as a would-be usurper, libertine, and persecutor; and a few weeks later the ambitious primate was murdered by a band of conspirators at St. Andrews.

The castle of St. Andrews remained for a time in the hands of those who had taken vengeance upon the Cardinal. Thither, in 1547, came John Knox, expecting, as his own account indicates, to find the stronghold a

¹ John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, edited by Laing, i. 18, Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, i. 75-80, ed. 1842.

² Calderwood, i. 80-82.

³ Knox's *History*, i. 36-66.

refuge from molestation and danger. He was accompanied by the sons of Hugh Douglas, who had been placed under his instruction. Pressed by a very urgent summons, Knox added the office of preacher to that of teacher. But his ministrations were brought to a sudden close. The castle was taken by the French. Knox experienced the hardships of a prisoner on board a galley ship for nearly two years (1547-1549). The next ten years of his life, except an interval of less than a year in Scotland, were divided between England and the Continent. A considerable time was spent in Geneva. It was from this place that he issued his treatise, entitled the "First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women." As Knox afterwards explained, his publication had reference chiefly to the bloody rule of Mary in England. But no discrimination was expressed, and the only conclusion left to be drawn was that, in the view of the Reformer, the government of a country by a woman is to be accounted a monstrosity. Naturally, at a later date, such a manifesto was a poor recommendation for Knox, both to the virgin Queen of England and to the Queen of Scots.

In character Knox was well suited to the stern work of religious revolution. He was distinguished by the same vigor, decision, and determination as Calvin. With less of intellectual breadth and penetration, he combined a larger gift of popular eloquence. His bold and incisive address penetrated the minds of his countrymen much as did the burning words of Luther the minds of the Germans. As one wrote to Cecil, the single voice of Knox was more inspiring to the Scots

than five hundred trumpets blustering in their ears. He well deserved the eulogy which the Regent Morton pronounced over his grave: "Here lies one who never feared the face of a man." His conscientiousness, personal force, and undaunted courage must ever commend him to the appreciation of healthy minds. At the same time, his biography can hardly fail to produce an impression of a certain uncharitableness, intolerance, and harshness. Even so great an admirer as M'Crie writes of him: "A stranger to complimentary or smooth language, little concerned about the manner in which his reproofs were received, provided they were merited, too much impressed with the evil of the offence to think of the rank or character of the offender, he often uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim."¹ He dwelt too much in the sphere of the old dispensation, and gave too literal an application to the historical precedents which he found recorded there. He was intolerant on principle. It should be stated to his credit, however, that his intolerance respected not mere trifles, but that which he had reason to regard as of serious consequence.

As Knox returned to Scotland, in 1559, he found the country in a state of great excitement. Repressive measures, particularly the burning, the year before, of an aged evangelist, Walter Mill, had stirred up intense feeling. Strong suspicion was entertained that French power would be used to crush altogether the friends of the Reformation. The words of Knox were in no wise calculated to calm the agitation. A storm of iconoclasm broke out, and churches were spoiled of their

¹ Life of John Knox, ii. 255.

ornaments, and cloisters were destroyed. Knox cannot be charged with having directly inculcated the outbreak of violence. It was the work of the "rascal multitude," to use his own phrase. But there is little ground for supposing that he lamented much more than the irregularity of the proceeding, especially if he really uttered the remark, that "the best way to keep the rooks from returning was to pull down the nests."

This rude purgation was never undone. Aid supplied from England gave the Protestant lords the advantage in the contest with the Regent (Mary of Guise, the widow of James V.), and the French were compelled to evacuate the country. A Parliament convened in 1560, shortly after the Regent's death, abolished the Roman Catholic religion. The saying or hearing of mass was made punishable with death for a third offence.¹ A new ecclesiastical establishment took the place of the old. It did not however become heir to more than a fragment of the accumulated wealth of the Church. The avarice of the landed gentry crowded aside the grand educational and charitable schemes of Knox, and made spoil of a great part of the property which should have been devoted to the higher needs of the nation.

Such was the theatre upon which Mary Stuart, daugh-

¹ Knox regarded the mass as coming under the Old Testament law against idolatry, and participation in it, therefore, worthy of a capital infliction. It should be noticed, however, that there was no haste to find victims under the law. "I never read nor heard of an instance," says M'Crie, "in the time of our Reformer, of a person being put to death for performing any part of the Roman Catholic worship." (*Life of Knox*, ii. 129.)

ter of the deceased Regent and widow of the French King, Francis II., came to act the sovereign. She arrived in 1561, in the nineteenth year of her age. Sad exchange to her for the gay and brilliant life which she had led in the polished court of France! Six years of rule passing into trouble and tragedy, an abdication in Lochleven castle, nineteen years of imprisonment in England, and death by the executioner's axe,—such were the fortunes awaiting her.

Nothing more ill adjusted than Mary Stuart to her position could well be imagined. Brought up a Roman Catholic at a Romish court, she was set over a realm in which the practice of the Romish religion was made a capital offence. Even the private exercise of her religion was regarded as a thing most offensive and alarming. Knox declared that a single mass was to him a more fearful thing than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in the realm for the express purpose of suppressing religion.¹ The manner, too, in which he addressed Mary herself, and commented on her conduct, was far from expressive of a delicate regard for her conscience and pleasure. To be told by him that he was willing to endure her rule as Paul endured that of Nero, to have it declared to her face that her Church was “a harlot, polluted with all kinds of spiritual fornication, both in doctrines and manners,”² to be charged from the pulpit with delighting more in fiddlers and flatterers than in the company of wise and grave men, to

¹ Knox's History, ii. 276.

² See Knox's account of his first interview with Mary (ii. 277-286), probably as unique a dialogue as ever occurred between subject and sovereign.

be remembered in public petitions, to the effect that God would deliver her from the bondage and thralldom of Satan, and thus save her and the realm from the vengeance appointed to idolatry, — all this must have appeared to the high-spirited Queen as a strange adjunct to sovereignty. In fine, her position was as capital an irony on the principle of hereditary rule as can well be found.

It is a poor task in the historian to excuse the rudeness of Knox. At the same time, he ought not to be censured too unsparingly. He early gained the conviction that this fascinating Queen was bent upon acting the part of a Roman sorceress to charm back the nation to its cast-off idolatries and superstitions.¹ Nor can it be alleged that he was mistaken in his surmise. In her first years, it is true, under the discreet guidance of her half-brother, the Earl of Murray, she gave no open manifestation of a purpose to change the religion. While she declined to give a formal sanction to the reform measures which had been adopted in Parliament, she announced that ecclesiastical affairs were to remain undisturbed. But this much of concession was simply the dictate of necessity. Her purpose — as indicated by her correspondence with her uncles of the house of Guise, with the Pope, and with Philip II., as also by the measures to which she resorted as soon as a favorable crisis appeared — was the restoration of the Roman

¹ In October, 1561, Knox wrote to Cecil: "The Queen neither is, neither shall be, of our opinion; and in very deed her whole proceedings do declare that the lessons of the Cardinal [the artful Charles of Lorraine] are so deeply printed in her heart that the substance and the quality are like to perish together. I would be glad to be deceived, but I fear I shall not."

Catholic religion.¹ This scheme too did not seem altogether a wild undertaking, considering the light scruples of many of the nobles and the promise of aid from the Roman Catholic powers on the Continent. There was need, in short, of every particle of the vigilance and decision of Knox, whatever portion of his asperity might have been dispensed with.

The opportunities of Mary were not a little enhanced by the misconduct of the nobles. In 1565, Murray and some others, complaining that the Queen, without consulting Parliament, had married Lord Darnley and entitled him King, and convinced also that this union with one whose faith, if anything, was Romanism, contained a threat against their religion, made a show of resistance to the Queen's authority. It was an ill-devised scheme, which resulted in the banishment of the discontented lords, and thus greatly strengthened the hands of Mary. A few months later a still greater offence was perpetrated against the Queen in the assassination of her secretary, the Italian Rizzio. Here the chief culprit was the royal consort. Darnley, who was a man of signal worthlessness, was displeased because Mary withheld from him the crown matrimonial, and he was also excited to jealousy by her kindness to Rizzio. Taking advantage of this ill humor, some of the more unscrupulous nobles, who hated the foreigner as an intriguer and upstart, joined with Darnley in planning his murder. The deed as executed was conspicuous for its barbarity, and was better fitted to stamp

¹ Ranke, *History of England*, i. 264-269; Mignet, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, pp. 114-119 in English translation; Burton, *History of Scotland*, iv. 218, 302.

the perpetrators with infamy than to help their cause. If it weakened the Queen at the moment, and disconcerted her projects, the discredit which it brought upon the opponents of her policy might have been utilized ere long to increase her ascendancy.

But at this stage Mary forfeited her opportunity. Influences more potent than religious zeal or political ambition seem to have mastered her. Revenge and love joined in urging her on to a deed of hell. Filled with a mortal hatred of the husband who had comported himself so outrageously, and giving herself over to a mad passion for Bothwell, she became a participant in the plot for the murder of Darnley (Feb. 10, 1567). Such at least was a wide-spread belief at the time, and it is supported by a long array of historical particulars, as well as by the written evidence of the famous "casket letters."¹

This dark affair sealed the overthrow of the Queen of Scots. In the castle of Lochleven, where she was confined, she signed her abdication in favor of her infant son James, it being understood that during his

¹ Serious doubt respecting the guilt of Mary would probably never have arisen were it not that her cause has been supported by two eloquent advocates, namely, her personal charms and her extreme misfortunes. In some minds religious prejudice has served as a third advocate. The best that the defenders of the Queen of Scots can do is to indulge in a piecemeal challenge of the evidence. The force of the general concurrence of particulars, upon which an historical judgment rests, they cannot break. This is well illustrated by Mignet, who, though he writes in a temper quite other than that of hostility to the Queen of Scots, finds overwhelming proof of her guilt. Compare Burton and Ranke. On the genuineness of the "casket letters," purporting to be letters of Mary to Bothwell, Ranke offers this very decided opinion: "No human being could have invented them" (*History of England*, i. 273).

minority Murray should act as Regent. Though escaping her prison the next year, the attempt to recover her power proved fruitless, and she took refuge in England, there to spend the remainder of her days a prisoner. Once upon English soil, Mary, as we have seen, became the centre of Roman Catholic plots, in certain of which she herself participated to the extent of her ability. That she should be got rid of in some way seemed to have become a political necessity. The chief question concerning Elizabeth's treatment of Mary antedates the execution. Was it right for her to detain, imprison, and hold responsible to her tribunals the princess of another realm?

A few words about the constitution of the Scottish Church may fitly close the section. The question of polity, which became in after times a burning question, does not seem to have occasioned much discussion in the time of Knox. His familiarity with the Genevan model naturally influenced his conceptions, and at the settlement of the Church, in 1560, an essentially presbyterian system was inaugurated. While the country was divided into districts, and superintendents were appointed over these, their standing was not that ordinarily pertaining to bishops. The superintendents had no special prerogatives to ordain, and were under the authority of the general assembly. Their appointment was probably due to the great lack of competent ministers. The same fact explains also the provision for readers, or those qualified only to read the appointed service. At first this class was much in excess of the preachers. The officers, to whom a more regular or permanent character was attached, were these four,—

pastor, teacher, ruling elder, and deacon. In the class of teachers, or doctors, the professors of the universities were included. The ruling elder assisted the pastor in government and discipline. The function of the deacon concerned the management of temporalities. The *kirk session*, or meeting of the officers of a single congregation, the *presbytery*, the *provincial synod*, and the *general assembly*, formed the ascending series of official meetings. All the factors in this scheme were not, indeed, distinctly organized at the start, but they soon made their appearance.

The first innovation in the direction of episcopacy occurred in 1572, the year that Knox died. This was dictated by temporal considerations, the main impulse being the desire of the nobles to bring within reach the revenues attached in law to the old bishoprics. Incumbents were accordingly appointed to the vacant sees, with the expectation that they would share the revenues with their patrons; and common rumor says that the noble patrons realized their expectation. The new bishops were little more than bishops in name. Popular irony compared them to stuffed calves set up to make the cow give her milk. A definite opposition to them soon began, and a party was formed with whom a presbyterian or anti-prelatical polity was a matter of principle as well as of preference. This party found an able leader in Andrew Melville, a man superior to Knox in erudition and literary talent, and scarcely inferior to him in contagious courage and resolution. Under his influence, the assembly declared, in 1580, for the abolition of diocesan episcopacy as "unlawful and without warrant in the Word of God." From this time the drift

of sentiment in the Scottish Church was no doubt averse to any affiliation with an episcopal system. But the government, in the person of James, entertained a contrary preference. After some advances and retreats, James finally succeeded, in 1610, in inaugurating in Scotland a genuine episcopacy, with such Anglican attachments as apostolic succession and a Court of High Commission.

During the period under review the Scotch Confession, adopted in 1560, was in force. This shows the hand of Knox, as does also the Book of Common Order, which was the authorized prayer-book of the Scottish Church for about a hundred years. The Confession, as a whole, is more acceptable to the softened dogmatism of our time than its substitute, the elaborate doctrinal exposition by the Westminster Assembly. The prayer-book, in comparison with the English, shows the influence of the more simple liturgy of the Reformed Churches on the Continent.

VI. — PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND UNDER JAMES I. AND CHARLES I. (1603-1649).

Right of lineage, as also the last words of Elizabeth, pointed to the Scottish King as her proper successor. Accordingly James, the sixth of that name among Scottish rulers, and the first among English, son of the murdered Darnley and the executed Mary Stuart, was welcomed to the sovereignty of the united kingdoms. It seemed a happy consummation, that the neighboring realms, which had so often been in conflict with each other, should peaceably join in acknowledging a common

sceptre. But there was one serious fault in the new adjustment. James I. did not know England; and, what was worse, he showed little aptitude to acquire this most necessary knowledge. He never learned to estimate rightly the political and ecclesiastical factors with which he had to deal. Both in his foreign and in his domestic policy he ran counter to the judgment and the sympathies of a majority of the people. Herein he prefigured the course of the Stuart dynasty. It was essentially an alien dynasty, pertinaciously out of harmony with the national development, so that its ultimate expulsion appeared rather as the demand of national health and safety than as a deed of revolutionary caprice.

In his relations with the Scottish Church James had given significant indications of his ecclesiastical affinities. Still he had not carried a particular scheme so far but that opposing parties in England hoped each to derive advantage from his favor. The school of Whitgift and Bancroft found encouragement in the fact that James had shown inclinations to episcopacy. The Puritans might naturally suppose that a prince who had been nurtured in the plain Scottish Kirk would give some heed to their demand for pruning ceremonies. The Roman Catholics could refer to words and acts of James as grounds for expecting an alleviation of the burdens and legal prescription under which they labored.

A short time only was needed to show where the smile of royalty would rest. The deferential, not to say obsequious, bearing of the English prelates was in striking contrast with the boldness which James had seen in the synods and preachers of his native country. It went straight to his heart, and wonderfully gratified his

enormous self-complacency. The Anglican hierarchy, he concluded, was a natural ally of monarchy, and it was not many months before he uttered his curt maxim, "No bishop, no king." The Hampton Court conference, held in January, 1604, made it clear to the Puritans that the hand of James would be quite as heavy against them as had been that of Elizabeth. Indeed, he expressly declared his intention to allow no quarter to non-conformity.¹

To grant large indulgence to Roman Catholics, while repressing non-conforming Protestants, would have been a scandal in the face of the public. James felt compelled, therefore, by consistency, as well as by the jealousy of the nation at large towards the adherents of the Pope, to make a show of executing the laws against Romanists. There was the less motive to spare them, as the evil reputation which a restless faction had gained for them in the reign of Elizabeth was enhanced by new plots. In the first year of James, a wild project was set on foot to seize his person, and two years later was devised one of the most atrocious conspiracies known to history,—the plot to destroy King, lords, and commons, at one fell stroke. Several thousand pounds of gunpowder were stored beneath the Parliament building, and all the preparations were made for firing the train, as soon as the King and the two houses should

¹ The most noted grace, perhaps, which was awarded by James to the Puritan representatives at this conference, was his indorsement of their request for a revised translation of the Bible. The project was soon taken up, and the new version was ready for publication in 1611. A full list of the translators, the rules under which they worked, etc., is given by Thomas Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, edited by J. S. Brewer, vol. v. pp. 370–377.

be convened at the opening of the session. About a dozen laymen had full knowledge of the Satanic enterprise, and several priests were privy to it, though the measure of guilty encouragement which they may have given is not very clearly determined. Among these was Garnet, Superior of the Jesuits in England, who fell into the hands of the government and was sent to the scaffold.¹ The result of the conspiracy was what might have been expected in an intolerant age. Punishment was not limited to the guilty few. The heavy penal yoke which already rested upon the necks of English Romanists was made still more heavy. The disabilities, the restrictions, and the liability to fines were increased, and a new oath of allegiance was devised, designed to expose to special penalties those who would not renounce the temporal pretensions of the Pope.² How far this code was enforced depended much upon the temper of the sovereign. James certainly was not inclined to a persevering and rigorous enforcement. His predominant desire to ingratiate him-

¹ Garnet claimed that he knew of the plot only under the seal of confession. A specially careful and competent historian renders this judgment: "Garnet's own statements are so mingled with known falsehoods that no reliance can be placed upon anything that he said. The whole case against him rests upon circumstantial evidence. This evidence, though it would now rightly be considered insufficient to justify an adverse verdict, was quite enough to convict a prisoner in the days when looser notions of the laws of evidence prevailed, and is of itself sufficiently strong to leave no reasonable doubt in the minds of historical inquirers." (S. R. Gardiner, *History of England from 1603 to 1616*, i. 258, 259.)

² Lingard says of the new penal code: "It repealed none of the laws then in force, but added to their severity by two new bills, containing more than seventy articles, inflicting penalties on the Catholics in all their several capacities, of masters, servants, husbands, parents, children, heirs, executors, patrons, barristers, physicians." (*History of England*, ix. 61.)

self with the leading Roman Catholic States naturally placed him under bonds not to deal too severely with his Romish subjects. While negotiating with Spain, and then with France, to secure the hand of a Roman Catholic princess for his son, he expressly stipulated that the penal laws against the domestic practice of the Romish religion should not be executed. Still it was a poor service which James rendered to the Romanists. To say nothing of the odious custom, nourished by his lax favoritism, which permitted court parasites for their own private benefit to exact fines from the recusants, his promise of tolerance in defiance of the law, and at the dictate of a country whose name was a synonym for Roman Catholic intolerance and aggression, was the reverse of a service to the persecuted. Its inevitable result, so far as it was revealed to the public, was to strengthen the national bent to grant no standing place to the Romish religion. Charles I., like James, felt the force of opposite demands, and in his lack of settled principle leaned to one side or the other as interest or necessity seemed to dictate. At one time he indicated a disposition to keep his promises with France, and pleased his Roman Catholic wife by suspending the penal laws against her co-religionists. At another time he yielded to the national judgment and jealousy, and fulfilled his pledge to Parliament by ordering the penal laws to be executed. Such double dealing was naturally a failure. The nation at large received no lesson in religious tolerance, and the minds of zealous Protestants were embittered with the suspicion that the high-church Anglicanism of the King would eventuate in Romanism.

Whilst the Roman Catholics were in the hands of the government, to take such indulgence as might be given, the Puritans were advancing to a strength which qualified them to contend with the throne. In the course of the reigns of the first two Stuarts the name of "Puritan" acquired an enlarged significance. Several parties came under the designation. There were the political Puritans, intent upon the maintenance of national liberties, champions of the privileges of Parliament over against the prerogatives of the Crown. Another class might be called ecclesiastical Puritans, their leading interest being in the government and worship of the Church. All of these agreed in the opinion that the existing system should be modified; but as respects the nature of the changes to be introduced they differed. Some would have been content with a limited episcopacy; others were zealous for the presbyterian system; others were advocates of a congregational polity. A large proportion of the ecclesiastical Puritans might further be described as Puritans in doctrine. Their adherence to the strict Calvinistic faith was sufficiently prominent to give the name of Puritan an association with that type of theology, and we find instances in which it was so employed at the time. One other element was included in the term: the Puritan was the advocate of an austere morality. This characteristic was no doubt shared in very different degrees. Not every Puritan moved in an air of perpetual solemnity, or made it a duty to frown upon all forms of gayety and mirth. It is the extremists of the party whom Macaulay describes when he says: "Morals and manners were subjected to a code resembling that of the synagogue, when the

synagogue was in its worst state. . . . It was a sin to hang garlands on a May-pole, to drink a friend's health, to fly a hawk, to hunt a stag, to play at chess, to wear lovelocks, to put starch into a ruff, to touch the virginals, to read the Fairy Queen. Rules such as these, rules which would have appeared insupportable to the free and joyous spirit of Luther, and contemptible to the serene and philosophic disposition of Zwingli, threw over all life a more than monastic gloom."¹ As a class the Puritans were undeniably chargeable with some lack of genial sympathy with the pleasurable and artistic side of life. But this with many of them was no offspring of mere poverty and narrowness of spirit. It was due largely to their moral earnestness, their sense of the seriousness of life, their intense stress upon the thought of personal responsibility to the God of judgment and justice. The creed of the Puritan forbade him to lose himself in the mass, or to take up with the easy standards which happened to have currency. He felt obliged to consult higher authority, — the claims of conscience, the will of God. By this disposition he lost something of the plasticity which gives smoothness and affability to social intercourse. But he secured no mean compensation in firmness of moral fibre. Moreover, if he was disposed to withhold his steps from the general circle of worldly and social pleasures, he bestowed all the more care and honor upon the home.²

¹ History of England, i. 61.

² There is at least an element of truth in this remark of Green: "Home, as we conceive it now, was the creation of the Puritan. Wife and child rose from mere dependents on the will of husband and father, as husband and father saw in them saints like himself, souls hallowed by

Under ordinary conditions it would have been difficult to bring the different classes of Puritans into any close alliance with one another. But so great were the grievances of which each had to complain, and so serious were the evils which threatened the nation, that they were driven in large measure to make common cause.

In the administration of the State and the Church alike they saw occasion for grief and alarm. While the nation was outgrowing the Tudor regime, and was advancing to a consciousness of self-governing faculty, the Stuarts were bent upon exercising unrestricted authority. Though possessing but little of the tact of the Tudors, they claimed all their prerogatives, and more. The most extravagant assertions of the divine right of kings were received by them as acceptable sacrifices. James insulted his Parliament, and declared it an utter impertinence for subjects to say what the King cannot do. Charles early came to the conclusion to discard Parliament altogether. His ideal of monarchy was such as was then being exemplified in Spain and France; and in Thomas Wentworth, who was made Earl of Strafford, he found a congenial agent for the working out of his ideal.

While the monarch was thus challenging the hostility of every Puritan by grasping at arbitrary power, the prelates were doing the same. Men like Bancroft and Laud saw in the House of Commons, with its large Puritan element, a foe to their scheme. By policy,

the touch of a divine Spirit and called with a divine calling like his own. The sense of spiritual fellowship gave a new tenderness and refinement to the common family affections." (*History of the English People*, iii. 19.)

therefore, as well as by a natural affinity with despotic rule, they were led to make a close alliance between monarchy and prelacy. They supported the most extravagant pretensions of the Stuarts, and published canons which were designed to leaven the Church with the doctrine of passive obedience.¹ Laud, who held a commanding place in the councils of Charles up to the eve of the civil war, was the conscious, energetic, persevering ally of Strafford in his project of royal absolutism.

With the political grievance there was coupled an ecclesiastical one that was very bitter to many of the Puritans. They found not only that the demand for uniformity was pressed with increased rigor, but that they were under a system which was coming into more and more undisguised affinity with Romanism. A stress was laid upon the divine right of episcopacy, which unchurched their Protestant brethren upon the Continent. The communion table was turned into an altar, and the practice of obeisance before it was promoted. Auricular confession was frequently inculcated. A doctrine of the real presence conspicuously near to the Romish theory had its advocates, and some of the bishops did not shun to commend the invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead. Such developments naturally awakened deep anxieties. Not a few suspected that Laud was secretly intent upon bringing back the Eng-

¹ See Canons of 1604 and 1640, especially the latter. Cardwell's *Synodalia*, vol. i., gives the full text. The first Canon of 1640 says: "The most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right. . . . For subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the powers which are ordained of God; and though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly they shall receive to themselves damnation."

lish Church into the Roman communion. Even Romanists seemed to judge that he was not hopelessly remote from their standpoint, else their motive in offering him a cardinal's hat is not very intelligible. It is to be allowed, however, that Laud was misjudged upon this point. While he was devoted to a scheme which would have eaten out the heart of Protestantism, he had no desire to subject England to the Papacy. His model was Byzantine rather than Roman. The utterly Erastian theory of church government which he abetted and sustained was contradictory to the theory of papal supremacy. Only by a change analogous to that which transpired in Becket could he have welcomed the headship of the Pope.

The apprehensions of radical Protestants were rendered the more lively and painful by the fact that the management of foreign relations seemed to be of a piece with that of home affairs. They feared that the marriage with a Roman Catholic princess, which was coveted and consummated, would give England a Roman Catholic king,¹ — as in fact it did in the next generation. It disquieted them exceedingly, too, to see England reduced almost to a cipher in the great struggle — so ominous of loss and disaster for Protestantism — which was going on in Germany.²

¹ Fuller indicates in his quaint way how the negotiations for the hand of a Spanish princess, which seemed at one time on the point of being effectual, were viewed. "The Protestants grieved thereat, fearing that this marriage would be the funerals of their religion; and their jealousies so descanted thereon, that they suspected, if taking effect, more water of Tiber than Thames would run under London Bridge." (Church History, v. 531, 532.)

² For the foreign policy of the first two Stuarts, see especially Gardiner's histories.

The Puritans had also their doctrinal grievance. While the distinguishing features of the Calvinistic system had not the same prominence in the writings of the early Protestant theologians of England which they commanded in some of the Continental communities, Calvinism, so far as the doctrines of grace are concerned, was in general the creed of the English Church up to the reign of James I. But Laud was pronounced in favor of the Arminian tenets which the representatives of England in the synod of Dort had helped to condemn. Moreover, he gave the full force of his patronage to the spread of these tenets, so that a bishop, being asked what the Arminians held, could reply with truth as well as wit, "They hold the best bishoprics and deaneries in England." To ardent Calvinists this seemed like an apostasy from the Reformation. Moreover, they learned, to their special exasperation, that they were to be hampered in the defence of their faith by a one-sided censorship over pulpit and press, — a censorship which was virtually under the sole direction of Laud at the time of his ascendancy.

In addition to all else, the strictness of the Puritans in respect of pastimes was set at naught. Especially were their scruples regarding Sunday license rudely overridden. As early as the days of Elizabeth they had begun to agitate for a more perfect sanctification of Sunday as the Christian Sabbath. A work of Dr. Bound, in 1594, which attributed to the fourth command the nature of moral precept, and taught that it is of perpetual obligation as respects the sacred use of one day in seven, found ready acceptance among them.¹

¹ Neal, *History of the Puritans*, i. 208.

What then was their dismay when James, in 1618, issued his "Declaration of Sports," encouraging the people, after leaving the church doors, to fill up Sunday with jovial pranks and amusements.¹ Still more obnoxious to them was the act of Charles and Laud, fifteen years later, in republishing the declaration, and requiring all ministers to read it from their pulpits on pain of deprivation.²

Under the pressure of these multiplied grievances, many of the Puritans turned their faces toward the shores of New England. But this and all other forms of protest had no effect upon the chief agents of the government. Regardless of public feeling, moving forward with the remorseless constancy of a mechanical appliance, Laud and Strafford gave no slightest token of concession till in the final outbreak they were hurled to the prison and the scaffold.

¹ The royal declaration has this paragraph: "As for our good people's lawful recreations, our pleasure is, that after the end of divine service our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreations; such as dancing, either of men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations; nor from having of May games, Whitsun-ales, or morris-dances, and setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of divine service; and the women shall have leave to carry rushes to church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal we do here account as still prohibited all unlawful games to be used on Sundays only, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, and (at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) bowling." (Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 483; Fuller, *Church History*, v. 452.)

² Some read the declaration, and then turned at once and read with emphasis the fourth commandment; others refused outright to read it. Respecting these Fuller says, "Some were suspended from office and benefice, some deprived, and more molested in the High Commission." (*Church History*, vi. 100.)

The crisis was precipitated by the attempt to conform the Scottish Church to the Anglican model. This change was undertaken with the fatuity of the blindest despotism. No effort was made to reconcile the minds of the Scots to the innovation. Indeed, they were not so much as consulted. In 1636 a body of canons for the government and discipline of the Scottish Church was issued on the sole authority of the King.¹ The next year, in precisely the same autocratic fashion, a new liturgy was assigned to the Scots. A few of their bishops, it is true, had part in its preparation; but it came without the official recommendation of any ecclesiastical body whatever. The royal fiat was its only sanction. This gave a thorny cover to the book, and naturally caused the inside to be scrutinized with suspicion. Examination showed the contents to be no more agreeable than the cover. It was the old English Prayer Book which Knox had censured as containing too much of the "dregs of Popery," with points of revision that were thought to savor of Romanism, and to have been introduced on purpose to infect the Scottish Church with the Roman virus.² Popular feeling was kindled to a flame of resentment. The Covenant of 1581, a national oath or pledge against Popery, was brought forward, with some modifications, and

¹ "On no record of ecclesiastical council or other deliberative body is any trace of their formation or adoption to be found. A complete code of laws for the government of a church, issued by a sovereign without official consultation with the responsible representatives of that Church, is unexampled in European history." (Burton, *History of Scotland*, vi. 398.)

² The intent of the compilers may have been innocent enough, but some of their emendations of the Anglican Liturgy were such as could hardly fail to excite anxious inquiries. A clear statement of the objectionable points is given in Fuller's *Church History*, vi. 145-147.

was eagerly signed. The new regulations were declared abolished, and even episcopacy itself was swept by the board.

In maintaining the ground which they had taken, the Scots resorted to arms. The King accordingly found himself in such straits that he was obliged to convene Parliament. Once assembled, Parliament became the avenger of grievances. As the King was unwilling to give satisfactory security against arbitrary rule, and moreover had earned the mortal distrust of a great part of the nation, the dispute deepened into the ordeal of civil war. Amid the excitements and exigencies of the conflict, Parliament became a revolutionary body, and usurped an authority quite as subversive of constitutional government as that which the King had claimed, until at length the instrument of its power became its master, and the army ruled England. Under this military regime, Charles I. was sent to the block, January 30th, 1649.

When Parliament assembled in 1640, a majority of its members had no design to subvert the episcopal establishment in England. But dependence upon their Scotch allies soon reconciled them to this revolutionary measure. Accordingly, they assented to the terms of the Scotch as expressed in the Solemn League and Covenant, the plain import of which was that the presbyterian form of church government, with a uniform system of discipline and worship attached, should be established in the three kingdoms. To assist in perfecting the new model, the Westminster Assembly was convened in 1643, — an advisory body, which was invited to lay its recommendations before Parliament, but had

no legislative authority. In the Assembly the presbyterian element was largely in the ascendant. There were, however, two other parties which claimed a hearing: the Erastians, led by the learned Selden, who adhered to the theory, largely prevalent in England up to the days of Bancroft, that ecclesiastical government, instead of being a matter of divine prescription, falls properly under the regulation of the State; and the Independents, who claimed Scriptural warrant for the self-governing prerogative of the individual congregation. These parties had opportunity to defend their respective views, but further satisfaction they could not gain from the company of divines. The Assembly not only elected the presbyterian polity, but declared it to be of divine right. This declaration was rejected by Parliament. It refused also to give as large powers to spiritual tribunals as the Assembly desired. With these modifications, it accepted the proffered scheme. Presbyterianism received legal establishment. This meant persecution for the clergy who still clung to the old Anglican system. Many hundreds were deprived of their livings in the first years of the civil war, for refusing to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, and the list was probably enlarged in subsequent years to an aggregate of several thousands.

The legal establishment of Presbyterianism was not followed by its actual introduction except on a limited scale. One great hindrance in its way was the intolerance of its advocates. A large proportion of the Presbyterians were scarcely more patient toward dissent than Laud himself. They insisted rigidly upon uniformity. This demand alienated the army, which had imbibed in

large measure the views of the Independents. The soldiers of Cromwell had no inclination to put on a presbyterian yoke, that promised to be as heavy as the prelatical one which they had cast off; and what they undertook to veto had small chance of enforcement.

The doctrinal scheme of the Westminster divines met with wider acceptance than their plan of church government. The Assembly was unanimous in its opposition to Arminianism, and Parliament found little difficulty in accepting the elaborate confession which it presented, the sections relating to polity alone excepted. In Scotland the entire confession was readily adopted.

It is gratifying to observe in this era, when Puritan rigor followed close upon the despotism of Laud, tokens of liberal sentiments and principles. In the very midst of the impassioned conflict there arose a plea for religious liberty more potent than had been heard before in England. This came in part from the side of the Puritans. The Independents as a class, if they did not construe the subject in the broadest and most generous manner, were for practising a larger tolerance than had been advocated either by the prelatical or the presbyterian party.¹ Herein they found an ally in Selden, who joined with his theory of the supremacy of the civil power the view that its authority should be a safeguard against the

¹ Neal says, referring to the time of the Westminster Assembly: "The Independents pleaded for a toleration so far as to include themselves and the sober Anabaptists, but did not put the controversy on the most generous foundation; they were for tolerating all who agreed in the fundamentals of Christianity, but when they came to enumerate fundamentals they were sadly embarrassed, as all must be who plead the cause of liberty, and yet do not place the religious and civil rights of mankind on a separate basis." (*History of the Puritans*, part iii. chapter vi.)

persecution of one faction by another.¹ But the most decided voice from the ranks of the Puritans in favor of religious liberty was that of John Milton. At the beginning of his public career he was connected with the Presbyterians, and several pamphlets which he wrote in 1641 and 1642 supported the general features of their church system. But his temper was quite other than that which dominated the party. He accordingly receded from its fellowship, and went forward to represent the most ideal and individualistic side of Puritanism. Ecclesiastical structures, with whatever claims or boasts set off, were of small account in his estimate. He regarded the individual as the unit of value. For the individual he saw no worthy development or destiny save in the free use of his faculties in searching for and working out the truth. From this standpoint he wrote in 1644 his famous plea for the liberty of the press.² It was an eloquent and powerful treatise, and left but little room for improvement by a subsequent hand.

Whatever service to the cause of religious liberty may have come from the Puritan side, it was equalled or surpassed by that which the moderate Churchmen of the era rendered. Here belong the names of William Chillingworth, Lord Falkland, John Hales of Eton, and Jeremy Taylor.³ The opinions of these writers may

¹ Gardiner, *Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage*, i. 204, 205.

² "Areopagitica, a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." Ranke says that this "must be ranked as high in the literature of pamphlets as any of Luther's popular writings, or the Provincial Letters of Pascal." (*History of England*, ii. 449, 450.)

³ For an interesting sketch of each of these, see John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. i.

have taken some tinge from the Arminians in Holland, who were opposed to elaborate and exacting terms of communion, and asked only for agreement in fundamentals. In common, they limited the value and the necessity of mere orthodoxy, and found a basis for tolerance in the principle that the errors of an honest and devout inquirer involve no forfeiture of Divine favor. This is set forth with great cogency by Chillingworth in his celebrated work, "*The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation*," published in 1637. Speaking of those who fall into mistaken beliefs, he says: "If they suffer themselves neither to be betrayed into their errors, nor kept in them by any sin of their will; if they do their best endeavor to free themselves from all errors, and yet fail of it through human frailty, so well am I persuaded of the goodness of God, that if in me alone should meet a confluence of all such errors of all the Protestants of the world that were thus qualified, I should not be so much afraid of them all as I should be to ask pardon for them."¹ With like emphasis he declares the refusal of a just latitude of opinion to be the bitter spring of contentions and schisms: "This presumptuous imposing of the senses of men upon the words of God, — the special senses of men upon the general words of God, and laying them upon men's consciences together, under the penalty of death and damnation; this vain conceit, that we can speak the things of God better than in the words of God, thus deifying our own interpretations, and tyrannous enforcing them upon others; this restraining of the Word of God from that latitude and generality, and

¹ *Works*, p. 46.

the understandings of men from that liberty wherein Christ and the apostles left them, is and hath been the only fountain of all the schisms of the Church, and that which makes them immortal, the common incendiary of Christendom, and that which tears in pieces not the coat, but the bowels and members of Christ.”¹

The same view is thus urged by Hales: “It is not the variety of opinions, but our own perverse wills, who think it meet that all should be conceited as ourselves are, which hath so inconvenienced the Church. Were we not so ready to anathematize each other, where we concur not in opinion, we might in hearts be united, though in our tongues we were divided, and that with singular profit to all sides. It is ‘the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,’ and not identity of conceit, which the Holy Ghost requires at the hands of Christians.”² Hales had an emphatic conception of the rights of reason in religion, and of the impertinence of mere authority. This appears in his robust comments on the function of councils. Each individual of a council, he says, may err. Why then should a majority vote be free from all suspicion of error? “It was never heard,” he pun-
gently remarks, “in any profession, that conclusion of truth went by plurality of voices, the Christian profession only excepted; and I have often mused how it comes to pass that the way which in all other sciences is not able to warrant the poorest conclusion should be thought sufficient to give authority to conclusions in divinity, the supreme empress of sciences.”³

Jeremy Taylor, whose silver trumpet was to be heard once and again in after years, presented in 1647 a fit com-

¹ Works, p. 253.

² Works, ii. 94.

³ Works, i. 65, 66.

panion to the *Areopagitica* of Milton. His "Discourse on the Liberty of Prophesying" was an offering to the liberty of speech which ranks with the great Puritan's contribution to the liberty of the press. Taylor rests here upon the platform of Chillingworth and Hales, though his mind was undoubtedly of a somewhat different cast from theirs. He opposes the multiplication of dogmatic restrictions, declares the Apostles' Creed a sufficient compendium of necessary beliefs, and finds no surer path to right opinions than a diligent search of the Scriptures and a conscientious use of private judgment.

VII. — PROTESTANTISM IN IRELAND.

THE religious dawn which rose upon other countries in the sixteenth century brought only a few scattered gleams to Ireland. In its isolation, this island had scarcely felt the movement which elsewhere was tending to the breaking up of the mediæval system. There was no spirit of criticism or enlightenment to stir unrest and beget receptivity for new teachings. The way, too, in which such teachings were proffered, was not calculated to conciliate favor. They came at the point of an English sword, and so incited the hostility which was felt toward the rule of England.

Politically, Ireland was in a very disordered condition at the opening of the sixteenth century. English rule within the Pale was none too strong and settled; outside of the Pale, the shadow of an existence which it maintained was due largely to the feuds between the Irish themselves. "During the first thirty years of the sixteenth century the annals of the country which

remained under native rule record more than a hundred raids and battles between clans of the north alone."¹ An Irish Romanist declared in 1515: "There is no land in this world of so long continual war within itself, nor of so great shedding of Christian blood, nor of so great robbing, spoiling, preying, and burning, nor of so great wrongful extortion continually, as Ireland."²

Religious disorder went parallel with the political. Church edifices fell into ruins. Bishops often had more interest in party broils than in the care of their flocks. Preaching was mostly neglected, except on the part of the begging friars, and their ministrations were attended with little fruit. Speaking of the secular clergy, Archbishop Brown said, in 1535: "They be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue."³

During the reign of Henry VIII., especially under the powerful ministry of Thomas Cromwell, much was done toward establishing a real supremacy of English civil authority over Ireland. But in the line of religious innovations the government was less successful. Ignorance, inertia, and bondage to tradition were too general to allow of reforming zeal in any class of the people. They were content with the old order of things. They rendered, indeed, at first an indifferent recognition of the King's ecclesiastical supremacy, and acceded to the decree for the dissolution of the monasteries. A further attempt, however, to reform reli-

¹ Green, *History of the English People*, ii. 174.

² W. D. Killen, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, i. 397.

³ Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, i. 115.

gious customs and rites was met with sullen opposition, and inclined the people to retract the concessions already made. So far as any change was wrought, it was almost wholly mechanical, the result of the external pressure brought to bear.

The more earnest Protestantism which gained the ascendancy in England during the reign of Edward VI. made little impression upon Ireland. Decrees were indeed sent across the Irish Channel. In 1551 it was ordered that the English Liturgy should be used. This order, however, was mostly discarded, and the reign of Edward VI., like the preceding, showed the futility of attempting to convert a nation by edict.

The baseless structure which had been reared fell, as a matter of course, as soon as governmental support was withdrawn. On the accession of Mary, the old religion assumed full sway. The reign of Elizabeth served to extend over Ireland again the laws of the English Church, but it failed to establish in the greater part of the country anything more than the merest shadow of Protestantism. Every element of an efficient ecclesiastical establishment was wanting, as appears from this testimony of Sir Henry Sidney in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, in 1575: "Upon the face of the earth, where Christ is professed, there is not a Church, your Majesty may believe, in so miserable a case: the misery of which consisteth in these three particulars: the ruin of the very temples themselves; the want of good ministers to serve in them when they shall be re-edified; competent living for the ministers being well chosen."¹ A few years later Edmund Spen-

¹ *Mant*, i. 299.

ser used equally strong terms, and described the great body of subordinate clergy as lacking in every requisite for their vocation.

During the reigns of James and Charles, Protestantism was considerably strengthened in Ireland. A higher average of intelligence and religious industry was maintained by the clergy. The Plantation of Ulster introduced, in the former reign, a noteworthy accession to the Protestant element in the North of Ireland, though at the expense of embittered feeling on the part of the dispossessed natives. There was, however, no such increase of strength as to secure a real supremacy to the Protestant establishment. Edicts of James for the banishment of the Romish priests were almost totally disregarded. A greater appearance of subjection to the government scheme was brought about under the iron rule of Strafford, in the years following 1633. But he failed to reconcile Romanists to the Establishment, and chilled the enterprise of the most zealous element among Protestants by his insistence upon strict conformity.

The work of Strafford did not long survive his presence in Ireland. In 1641 occurred a great uprising against English rule and the Protestant religion. Thousands were ruthlessly slaughtered in the first months of the insurrection, and other thousands made to die of ill-treatment. The devastations of civil war followed, until at length the sword of Cromwell avenged the massacre and reinstated English authority.

While legislation, followed up in some instances by force, appears as the chief means employed for the

conversion of Ireland, there was a better element in the enterprise which should not be overlooked. Here and there we have record of a distinguished laborer who sought to reach the hearts of the Irish through patient evangelical tuition. Such a laborer was John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, near the close of the reign of Edward VI. Such also was Nicholas Walsh, Bishop of the same diocese, who inaugurated in 1573 the translation of the New Testament into Irish, a task which was completed in 1602. As furthering the chosen method of these evangelists, Edmund Spenser deserves honorable mention. A different history would have been written for Ireland had the following precepts of his, penned near the end of the sixteenth century, been diligently carried out from the start: "Religion should not be sought forcibly to be impressed into them, with terror and sharp penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood. And therefore it is expedient that some discreet ministers of their own countrymen be first sent over amongst them, which by their meek persuasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to embrace, the doctrine of their salvation."¹ James Usher, who became Archbishop of Armagh just before the death of James I., was an advocate and exponent of this moral and rational style of propagandism. It is true that he believed in the legal restraint of Popery; but he attributed a much higher efficacy to earnest and pains-taking indoctrina-

¹ Mant, i. 327, 328.

tion, and added to the fame acquired through his immense learning a reputation for convincing and persuasive discourse. A contemporary of Usher, William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, secured an unusual measure of esteem by his fidelity, piety, and kindly bearing. The Irish pronounced him the best of the English bishops, and a Romish priest is said to have exclaimed at his grave, "Would to God that my soul were with Bedell!"

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE TIME OF THE
REFORMATION.

I. — THE POPES AND THE COUNCIL.

THE order of political Popes outlived the early stages of the Reformation. At the very time that Protestantism was threatening to gain the ascendancy in Europe, there were pontiffs who were ready to divide the power of Romanism rather than make any sacrifice of immediate political interests. It has been seen that with Leo X. the great object was to preserve such a balance between different factors as might best secure and promote his temporal sway. A like motive governed several of his successors. Adrian VI. (1522–1523), it is true, had a sincere regard for the spiritual welfare of the Church. But his well-meant efforts were overborne by the adverse tide, and his brief rule brought no amendment of papal policy.¹ Clement VII. (1523–

¹ The simplicity of Adrian VI. appears to have been, in more than one sense, out of harmony with pontifical traditions of long standing. He was not even aware of his own infallibility. A work of his which was republished in Rome after his installation has this plain denial of the infallibility of the Pope: "Dico: quòd si per Ecclesiam Romanam intelligitur caput ejus, puta Pontifex, certum est quòd possit errare, etiam in iis quae tangunt fidem, haeresim per suam determinationem aut decretalem asserendo: plures enim fuere Pontifices Romani haeretici: item et novissimè fertur de Joanne XXII., quòd publicè docuit, declaravit, et ab omnibus teneri

1534) was no less engrossed in political manœuvring than Leo X. had been, and his worldly scheming was fruitful, in equal or even greater degree, of opportunities for the religious revolution.¹ A like temper was manifested by Paul III. (1534-1549). As he saw the victories of Charles V. against the German Protestants in the Smalcald war, he began to fear that the power of the Emperor would become too great to suit the temporal interests of the Papacy. Consequently he withdrew his support, ordered the Council of Trent, in which Charles was deeply interested, to be transferred to Bologna, sought an alliance with France, and in fine used every available means to thwart the imperial conqueror of heretics. Even Paul IV. (1555-1559), who prior to his election had taken a leading part in organizing and operating the Roman Inquisition, and was looked upon as the very soul of ecclesiastical zeal, signalized the first part of his pontificate much more by opposition to Spanish power than by efforts against the Protestants.

But this political animus in the Papacy yielded at

mandavit, quòd animae purgatae ante finale judicium non habent stolam, quae est clara et faciale visio Dei." (Quoted by Bossuet, *Defensio Declarationis Conventus Cleri Gallicani, Praevia Dissertatio*, xxviii.) The following from Adrian is far from flattering to his predecessors: "*Scimus in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata.*" (Raynaldus, Anno 1522, n. 70.)

¹ While not lacking in shrewdness, Clement VII. was singularly unsuccessful. Especially great was the humiliation which he experienced in 1527, when Rome was ruthlessly plundered by the troops of Charles V. Those who believed in the sacredness of treaties might have seen here a reward for his act of the previous year in absolving Francis I. from the obligations which he had assumed at Madrid.

length to the compulsion of events. Paul IV. in his closing days, though his dislike of Spanish ascendancy still rankled in his heart, made a virtue of necessity, and devoted his energy to the upholding of ecclesiastical interests. This end he pursued with a rigor congenial to his spirit. Under Pius IV. (1559-1565) there was quite a distinct transition to the new phase of the Papacy, in which its representatives appeared less as politicians and more as champions of the general interests of the Roman Catholic Church. "He was the first Pope," says Ranke, "who deliberately abandoned the tendency of the hierarchy to set itself in opposition to the authority of sovereigns."¹ His successor, Pius V. (1566-1572), labored with whole-souled ardor for the suppression of Protestantism and the recovery of spiritual dominion. Such, indeed, was his zeal, that it banished every thought of mercy towards those in revolt.² Others that followed,

¹ History of the Popes, book iii.

² The moral strictness of Pius V. commands respect, but his intolerance was simply revolting. One might search the Koran in vain for such an array of lessons on the use of the sword in religion as is found in the letters of this pontiff. They breathe out threatenings and slaughter more fierce than those uttered by the unconverted Saul of Tarsus. We have already had occasion to give one or two extracts (p. 201). The following are a selection from others that might be added. In April, 1569, Pius wrote to Charles IX. respecting the proper dealing with the Huguenots: "Qua in re nullius preces admittere, nihil cuiusquam sanguini et propinquitati concedere, sed omnibus qui pro scelestissimis hominibus rogare audent, inexorabilem te praeberere oportet." (De Potter, Lettre xvii.) At the same time he sent to the Duke of Anjou the admonition which he had previously applied to Charles IX., warning him that any mistaken leniency would be avenged against his brother and against himself as it was in the case of Saul: "Periculum esset ne quemadmodum adversus Saûlem, sic adversus christianissimum regem, fratrem tuum, teque ipsum etiam, eo gravius ira Dei exardesceret, quo benignius atque clementius cum utrisque vestrum

if not exhibiting an equal intensity, were governed by the same general tendency. Instead of busying themselves with attempts to order the political balance in Europe as might best promote their temporal sway, they sought to ally themselves with every agency which could help on the Roman Catholic reaction. A more earnest, devout, and enthusiastic temper, a bent even to ascetic piety, began to be manifested at the papal court. This spirit reached across the border of the next century. But when we come to the pontificate of Urban VIII. (1623-1644), we find the political again interfering with the churchly interest. Jealousy of the house of Austria constrained the Pope to pursue a policy which unmistakably aided the discomfited Protestants. One of the near predecessors of Urban, Paul V. (1605-1621) also made a very doubtful contribution to Roman Catholic supremacy. With him, however, the dominant

divina sua bonitas egisset." (Lettre xviii.) To Charles, in October 1569, he wrote, "*Nihil est enim ea pietate misericordiaeque crudelius, quae in impios et ultima supplicia meritis confertur.*" (Lettre xxiv.) Several letters (xxix, xxxii, xxxiii) contain this sentiment: "*Ut enim nulla potest esse Satanae cum filiis lucis communicio; ita nec inter catholicos quidam et haereticos ulla pacis compositio, nisi ficta, fallaciarumque plenissima, potest.*"

Pius V. was canonized in 1712. A sympathetic worshipper of the saint, after reading his epistles, can hardly fail to blend with his homage a feeling of sorrowful regret that the pontiff was not spared a few months longer, so as to have opportunity to make jubilee over the St. Bartholomew massacre. That papal duty, it is true, was discharged fairly well by Gregory XIII.; but it may be doubted whether he entered into the celebration with as much zest as would have been felt by Pius V.

It accorded with the type of piety represented by Pius V., that he should desire to have the cursing bull, *In Coena Domini*, repeated statedly in all Roman Catholic countries, as well as at Rome. However, since the bull, besides showering curses on heretics, insinuated Ultramontanism, it was not accepted even by the most orthodox Romish princes.

motive was official pride and assumption, rather than political sympathies or interests. Falling into dispute with the Venetian Republic, he thought to humble his opponents by a free use of the excommunication and the interdict (1606). It was a vain expenditure. The Venetians showed themselves able to despise his thunderbolts. The quarrel was finally settled by mutual concessions, but the moral effect of the affair was decidedly opposed to papal prestige.

To the earlier Popes of the period a specially disturbing thought was that of the Council. Holding in mind what had transpired at Constance and Basle, they looked upon the assembling of a council as a threat against their prerogatives and emoluments. Their fears, too, were not entirely groundless. Had it not been for the preponderance of the Italian element in the Council and the keen management of the papal legates, some action would in all probability have been taken which could not well be harmonized with Ultramontane principles.

The Council of Trent might be described as three successive councils, whose decisions were embraced in a common body of canons and decrees. It was assembled under different Popes, and at different times (1545-1547, 1551-1552, 1562-1563), within a space of eighteen years. At its opening it numbered scarcely more than twenty-five members. During the intermediate sessions the attendance ranged from fifty to seventy. At the close the assembly was much larger, and the decrees were signed by two hundred and fifty persons, thirty-nine of whom, however, were not counted as fully qualified members of the Council, and wrote in

connection with their names the formula *subscripti judicando*, instead of *subscripti definiendo*.

The Council of Trent, if it did not create, confirmed and established the essential features of the modern Romish Church. In its elaborate creed numerous items which had claimed no higher character than current speculations received the stamp of dogmatic authority. Opinions which might have been held before the meeting of the Council, and which were in fact held by a number of the most eminent representatives of the Romish Church, were branded as heresy. Some of the most important decrees that were passed encountered a noticeable opposition. Thus, a very respectable minority was adverse to the decision which placed tradition on an equality with Scripture.¹ On the subject of justification, also, there were prominent members of the Council who stood very close to the Protestant theory, and argued much as a Luther or Melancthon might have done.² In the discussions on the nature of the concupiscence which remains after baptism, on assurance, and on various points connected with the sacraments, there was a measure of dissent from the dominant view. The manifest result of the Council, therefore, was to narrow the circle of theological thought and belief. And this narrowing process took place according to a definite principle of selection. The catholic and evangelical element was excluded; the

¹ Pallavicino, Hist. Concil. Trid., lib. vi.; Theiner, Acta Genuina Concil. Trid., i. 68-77. Some wished to use, instead of *equal*, the milder term *similar*. The vote was as follows: "Par pietatis affectus 34, similis pietatis affectus 11, reverentia debeatur 3."

² Pallavicino, lib. viii.; Theiner, i. 166 ff.

specifically Romish, or the element of legalism, sacerdotalism, and sacramentalism, was retained. No doubt there are sentences in the Tridentine decisions which have an evangelical sound, and seem to exalt Divine grace. But these are no sooner placed on record than the view is intercepted by a throng of sacerdotal and legal representations. How much does it import that the primary grace is declared to be the free gift of God, when all effectual grace is said to be dispensed only through priestly mediation, and works of ecclesiastical obedience are so emphasized that a new life is formally denied to be the best penance? What is really enthroned is sacerdotalism. Divine grace is reduced well-nigh to the rank of a passive treasure placed under the manipulation of an earthly custodian.

The Council closed in a truly Romish fashion. "All confessed the faith," says Pallavicino, "promised obedience to the Tridentine decrees, called upon the High Priest Jesus Christ, upon the immaculate Mother of God, and upon all the saints, and proclaimed the anathema upon the heretics."¹

Tribute was paid by the Council to the supremacy of the Pope, in that he was asked to confirm its decisions. This was greatly to his satisfaction. In fact, he had occasion to be highly pleased with the general outcome. The ambition of a considerable fraction of the Council to carry through such a decision on the subject of episcopal residence as would appreciably limit the theory of the papal headship and assign a relative independence to the bishops had been thwarted. Eloquent champions of Ultramontane doctrines had been

¹ Lib. xxiv.

given full opportunity to speak their sentiments before the assembled prelates. Those doctrines, while they had not been approved, had not been formally repudiated. The chance was left to the Papacy which three centuries later was improved in the Vatican Council.

The Church which alleged the obscurity of the Scriptures as a ground for withholding them from the people, had now given its authoritative exposition on the most important subjects. Surely this exposition ought to be so lucid that there could be no serious liability of mistaking its import. But the authorities decided otherwise. In January, 1564, the Pope issued a bull forbidding not merely laymen, but ecclesiastics of whatever rank, to make upon the Tridentine decrees any commentaries, annotations, or interpretations whatsoever.¹

The decrees of the Council were not received with universal acclaim. France, in particular, stood out against the request to give them a formal sanction. But they found a general acceptance; and inasmuch as they supplied a definite platform, they helped in a measure to unify Roman Catholic forces. At any rate, we find these forces, inspirited by the new temper in the Papacy and favored with special means and opportunities, recovering a vast stretch of territory in the next few decades.

In France, Protestantism suffered a very appreciable abridgment by the close of the sixteenth century.

¹ Pallavicino, lib xxiv.; Bungener, *History of the Council of Trent*, p. 534 in English translation. The latter writer cannot be censured very severely for adding this comment: "Truly Rousseau was an excellent Roman Catholic, when he said, 'The man who thinks is a depraved animal.'"

Belgium, at one time half Protestant, was made wholly Roman Catholic. In Bavaria, where the Reformation had made extensive progress, the vigorous policy of repression which the government inaugurated about the year 1563, aided by the powerful propagandism of the Jesuits, brought about the complete reinstatement of Romanism. In Austria, also, Protestantism was made to feel the full force of the returning wave of the Roman Catholic reaction. Great advances had been made in this country by the new faith. "In all the provinces of Austria," says Ranke, "German, Slavonic, and Hungarian, with the single exception of the Tyrol, Protestantism might be regarded as ruling paramount in the year 1578."¹ But that very year witnessed the inauguration by the government of restrictive measures. In the next century the scheme of intolerance was carried through with peculiar vigor by Ferdinand II., Archduke of Austria and afterwards Emperor of Germany. The result was the overthrow of Protestantism in Austria, and its emphatic limitation in Hungary. In Poland the Romish cause was urged forward with great effect in the last years of the sixteenth and the first part of the seventeenth century. Though not destroyed, Protestantism was defeated and held in check.² The overthrow of the

¹ History of the Popes, book v.

² The entrance of Protestantism into Poland dates back almost to the beginning of the Reformation under Luther. After the accession of Sigismund Augustus (1548-1572), who adopted a tolerant policy, it advanced rapidly. Both Lutherans and Reformed were numbered among its adherents, and in the second half of the century the Socinian or Unitarian element also attained considerable strength. The spread of Socinianism emphasized the demand for unity among the other Protestants, and in 1570 they attempted in the consensus of Sendomir to provide a platform of agreement. Their subsequent relations, however, were not harmonious,

national forces of Bohemia at the opening of the Thirty Years' War left the cause of the Reformation in that realm defenceless, and it was almost wholly extinguished.¹ In Switzerland Protestantism held its ground very fairly. It was made to feel in some measure, however, the pressure of the Roman Catholic revival. Across its borders came the influence of two eminent exponents of Roman Catholic piety,—two men whose names were enrolled erelong in the calendar of saints,—Carlo Borromeo, who was made Archbishop of Milan in 1560, and Francis de Sales, who commenced his missionary efforts in the neighborhood of Geneva in 1594. The influence of Borromeo was seen in the quickened zeal of the Romish Cantons. In 1586 they were led to unite in the so-called Golden or Borromeoan league, wherein they pledged themselves to live and die in the Roman Catholic faith. The next year they went so far as to consummate a league with Philip II., which was nothing less than a threat against the Reformed Cantons; for not only was the right of marching troops through the country conceded to Philip, but the contracting parties and Romanism found in their divisions a conspicuous aid in its scheme of reconquest. One of the best known representatives of the early stages of Polish Protestantism was John à Lasco, who presided for a time over a foreign congregation in London. (See Krasinski, *Sketch of the Reformation in Poland*.)

¹ In this country the Bohemian Brethren had provided the door of entrance. At an early date they engaged in correspondence with Luther. In 1535 they gave distinct expression to their faith in a confession. Their zeal led them to lend assistance to the German Protestants in the Smalcald war. This brought upon them severe persecution for a time. But meanwhile their cause was strengthened by accessions from the Calixtines or Utraquists. Though beset with great difficulties, Protestantism maintained itself in Bohemia, and secured some important concessions, until the great storm of the next century broke upon it.

pledged mutual aid in case of a war for the interests of religion. Francis de Sales, who labored under the auspices of the government of Savoy, is said to have had astonishing success in gaining converts. Neither of these two men was altogether superior to the faults which generally were associated with a zealous propagandism in that age. But they were men in whom religious devotion rose to the plane of an earnest self-denial. Both were representatives, in their spirit and their writings, of mystical piety. A wide celebrity was attained in particular by the treatise of Francis de Sales entitled, "*Introduction à la Vie dévote*." It represents a less cosmopolitan piety, partakes more largely of Romish alloy, than the kindred writings of Fénelon; but it is entitled, nevertheless, to an honorable place in mystical literature.¹

II. — THE INQUISITION.

1. ORIGIN. — As was seen in the history of the mediæval Church, the ecclesiastical authorities near the close of the twelfth century began to take alarm at the encroachments of heresy. Fear stirred them to counsel and action. In devising remedies and safeguards against the threatening evil, they had not to invent new maxims. A temporal sword had not long been in the hand of the Church before it began to be used for the coercion of the heretic. Arguments and

¹ The fame of Borromeo and De Sales was rivalled by that of the contemporary Spanish mystic Theresa (1515–1582), who combined with an excess of visionary experiences an earnest devotion and tokens of practical sagacity.

decisions in favor of repressive measures reach back to the days of Augustine and Leo the Great. In the rude civilization of the following centuries it was not natural that either theory or practice should be improved. What the leaders of the Church at the close of the twelfth and the dawn of the thirteenth century had to devise was little else than the machinery which should give effect to the principle of intolerance. The most important part of that machinery bears the name of the Inquisition. A substitute name of the institution, designed, we presume, to emphasize the sanctity of its function, is that of the Holy Office.

A definite advance toward the Inquisition appeared in the scheme for the prosecution of heretics which was published by Lucius III. through the Council of Verona in 1184.¹ A still further advance was made in the plan of inquisitorial scrutiny which was issued by the Fourth Lateran Council, held under Innocent III. in 1215.² The Council of Toulouse, presided over by the legates of Gregory IX., in 1229, came quite near to the pattern of the Inquisition, since it provided for a special commission to serve in the work of heresy-hunting.³ One step more, however, was needed. The commission ordained by the Council of Toulouse was a local agency subordinate to the bishop. To reach the full-orbed institution of the Inquisition it was necessary to appoint inquisitors who should be co-ordinate with bishops, and enjoy a relative independence in the discharge of their functions. Such officials very soon appeared. It is supposed that Gregory IX. appointed special in-

¹ Mansi, tom. xxii.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., tom. xxiii.

quisitors for Italy in 1281, for France in 1283, and for Aragon in 1287. The new tribunals were largely manned by the Dominicans, though a place therein was given to the Franciscans and others. Meanwhile the episcopate was not robbed of its inquisitorial prerogatives, and in some quarters continued to be the main instrument for extirpating heretical pravity.

The Inquisition, as a distinct institute, was in effective operation during the thirteenth century and the early part of the fourteenth. In the latter part of the fourteenth and through the fifteenth century it wrought less energetically in most fields. England and the Scandinavian countries remained beyond its range from the first. In Sicily it exhibited tokens of renewed vitality about the middle of the fifteenth century. A quarter of a century later it burst into terrible activity in Spain, where previously its sphere of operation had been somewhat limited, Castile and Leon having scarcely felt its benediction. It was at this time (1481) that the New Inquisition, as it is called, was established. The principles and methods of the new tribunal did not differ materially from those of the old, and the change consisted mainly in the provision of a more ample and efficient board of management. The notorious Torquemada was appointed (1483) the first inquisitor-general under the revised constitution. The New Inquisition was introduced into Portugal in 1581.

As already noted, a constitution was published, in 1542, for the establishment of a supreme Inquisition in Rome, and cardinals were appointed under the Pope as managers. It would appear, however, that this new tribunal did not interfere with the Spanish, the latter

being exempted from the direct control of the Roman Congregation.

2. **RESPONSIBILITY.** — Any one who has read the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council and of the Council of Toulouse, or has looked through the long train of epistles in which Innocent III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Alexander IV., and other Popes called for the extermination of heresy, can entertain no doubt that ecclesiastical authority took the lead in organizing the Inquisition, and in devising the whole scheme of merciless repression of which it was the instrument. It is true that a very severe code was published by Frederic II. (1220–1239). But this was largely based on decrees which had already been issued under papal authority, owed its primary draft to the papal curia,¹ was promulgated by successive Popes, and was ordered by them to be entered into the local statute-books of states and cities.² While, therefore, Frederic II. is not to be excused, and the part which he took was especially disgraceful for a man of his free sentiments, the chief responsibility in devising and giving practical efficacy to his sanguinary code was with the Papacy.

Another element of responsibility appears in the fact that the Inquisition, after being organized, was treated by the supreme ecclesiastical authority as a favored child. Decree after decree was issued to remove obstacles out of the way, to protect its agents, and to

¹ Raynaldus, anno 1220, n. 19–24.

² Directorium Inquisitorum Nicolai Eymerici, cum Commentariis Francisci Pegnae Sacrae Theologiae ac Juris Utriusque Doctoris, Venetiis. 1590, Appendix; Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, No. 14,575, 14,587, 14,607, 14,762, etc. H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, i. 227, 322, 323.

enlarge the scope of its operations. The inquisitors were armed with a plenary indulgence while in the discharge of their office.¹ They were authorized to proclaim forty days' indulgence for any who should attend their sermon, and three years for any who should render them special service, it being understood in addition that one who chanced to die in this service should have plenary indulgence.² They were not to falter because of the opposition of local ecclesiastics, could not be touched by an excommunication without the sanction of the Roman see, and had power to absolve one another from ecclesiastical censures.³ On setting up their tribunal in any place, they could require the temporal magistrate to take oath to visit heretics with the canonical punishments, and in case the magistrate should refuse assistance to their pious designs, they could threaten him with excommunication and deposition on the express warrant of more than one papal edict.⁴ They were authorized and advised to

¹ Eymerich, *Directorium Inquisitorum*, pp. 130, 131, 685. Compare Paramo, *De Origine et Progressu Inquisitionis*, lib. ii. tit. i. cap. iv.

² *Directorium*, pp. 130, 409.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 552, 553.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393; Appendix, *passim*. A discovery of heresy in the magistrate himself was thought of course to justify a still more peremptory dealing. The fact of his heresy needed only to be officially announced in order to cancel at once all obligations to him. Eymerich, who wrote in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and his commentator, Pegna, who came two centuries later, state this in the most explicit terms. Pegna, writing as a doctor of law, and giving doubtless the accepted interpretation of the canons, says:—

“Ex hac quaestione unum colligitur axioma, videlicet, Omnes illos, qui aliquo obligationis genere aliquibus tenentur astricti, tunc liberantur penitus, cum illi quibus obligati erant in hæresim inciderent manifeste.

“Multis modis hoc axioma verum est. Primum, quia cum à die com-

conceal the names of the accusers from the accused, where the result might be harmful if they were divulged, or even to conceal them in any case.¹ In fine, the inquisitors were shielded and helped to the utmost by the papal legislation, and their responsibility was well-nigh limited to the Pope alone. Their official position was defined as that of papal delegates.²

The fact that the Church did not directly assume the task of executing heretics,* but turned them over, after conviction, to the secular arm, does very little towards qualifying its responsibility. For not only did it inculcate the general maxim, that in guarding the faith the temporal power must obey the spiritual, but, as has just been indicated, it required specifically, and under stress of the highest censures at its command, that the temporal power should diligently employ its exterminating sword against heresy.

missi criminis amittant dominium bonorum. Rursus, si haeretici, aliquos haberent obligatos, in eos agere possent.

"Haec poena de amisso jure obligationum multos parit effectus. Primum ergo is apud quem haereticus aliquid deposuit, non tenebitur post manifestum ejus haeresim, rem depositam haeretico restituere, sed fisco.

"Rursus, nec catholica uxor viro haeretico debitum reddere obligabitur, quia per haeresim viri ab hoc debito liberata est.

"His adde, quòd custodes arcium seu castrorum, aut populorum, vel civitatum, domino haeretico ea restituere non tenentur, neque ejus nomine custodire.

; "Denique quicumque vassali omni obligatione etiam juramenti religione munita, qua dominis sui tenebantur obstricti, ipso jure liberantur." (pp. 675, 676.)

¹ A decree of Innocent IV. reads: "*Sanè volumus, ut nomina tam accusantium pravitatem haeticam, quàm testificantium super ea, nullatenus publicentur propter scandalum vel periculum, quod ex publicatione hujusmodi sequeretur, et adhibeatur dictis hujusmodi testium nihilominus plena fides.*" (Directorium, p. 137.)

² Directorium, p. 536.

By an ecumenical decree, that of the Fourth Lateran Council, it ordained that the temporal lord who, after fair warning, should delay to purge his land of heretical defilement, should be excommunicated and lose all claim to allegiance. In the person of several Popes it prescribed, in authoritative terms, the adoption of a code which sentenced obstinate heretics to death by fire,¹ and in various instances coerced the magistrate into accepting or applying the code.² In the face of these facts, the plea that the Church has never executed heretics may well be left to those who exculpate the directing mind and lay all the blame on the hand of the criminal.

The shallow meaning of the inquisitor's request that the magistrate, in whose hands he placed the condemned heretic, should spare the shedding of blood, has been commented on in another connection. Pegna

¹ The following, addressed to Italian inquisitors by Innocent IV. in 1252, may serve as a specimen: "Volumus et præsentium vobis tenore mandamus, quatenus potestates, consilia, et communitates civitatum, castro-
rum, et quorumlibet aliorum locorum Lombardiae, Marchiae Taru-
sanae, et Romaniolae monere curetis, ac inducere diligenter, ut statuta
nostra, et alia ecclesiastica et saecularia, et constitutiones etiam quondam
Federici Romanorum Imperatoris, tunc in devotione ecclesiae persistentis
edita contra haereticos, fautores, receptatores, et defensores eorum, quae
conscripta et bulla nostra munita transmittimus, conscribi in statuariis
suis, eaque irrefragabiliter observari faciant, et observent. Si vero nos-
tris in hoc, immo potius apostolicis acquiescere monitis non curaverint,
ipsos ad id per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, cogatis."
(Directorium, Appendix, pp. 5, 6.) Other decrees of like tenor are given,
and in the same connection the statutes of Frederic II., wherein is re-
corded such a prescription as this: "Mortem pati Patarenos, aliosque hæ-
reticos quocunque nomine censeantur, decernimus, quam affectant: ut vivi
in conspectu hominum comburantur, flammaram commissi iudicio." (Ap-
pendix, p. 15.)

² Lea, History of the Inquisition, i. 322, 538, 539.

shows clearly enough that it was mere form, designed to avoid the appearance of complicity in blood-shedding, which was deemed an irregularity in an ecclesiastic. The same writer adds, that the form could no longer be counted strictly necessary, in consideration of the immunities granted to inquisitors by Paul IV. and Pius V., though it was fitting that it should be retained in deference to old custom.¹

It is doubtless true that the Inquisition had in some instances an intimate connection with the State. This was the case with the tribunal in Spain as reorganized at the close of the fifteenth century. There is room for the suspicion that Spanish sovereigns, like Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip II., prized the Inquisition as a means of overawing the people and subjecting them to political as well as religious despotism. Some attention is also due to the fact that certain Popes passed some direct or implied strictures upon the proceedings of the Spanish tribunal. But, on the other hand, it is entirely certain that in its main achievement the Inquisition in Spain simply fulfilled what the Popes for two centuries and a half had been commanding princes to do under pain of anathema. It is also certain that papal authority never undertook in real earnest to check the cruelties in Spain, and that such feeble strictures as some of its representatives passed were dictated in part by the desire to secure the papal prerogative in the matter of appeals, and were not meant in any case to save from the flames one who refused to submit conscience and faith to the authority of the Church. It is equally unquestionable that other repre-

¹ Directorium, p. 124.

sentatives of the Papacy, so far from holding inquisitorial rage in check, sought rather to fan it to an intenser flame. Thus Paul IV., as we have already seen, authorized the Spanish inquisitors to condemn to death such penitent heretics as had never relapsed;¹ and who that is acquainted with the administration of Pius V. does not know that its whole tendency was to breathe a fiercer energy into every agency of repression, whether in Spain or elsewhere?

The compliment which the Papacy paid to the Inquisition, in 1867, by canonizing Pedro Arbues, an inquisitor of Aragon who was assassinated in 1485, may properly be regarded as a scandal. But Pius IX. played herein a more respectable part than those are fulfilling who stand up in the face of history and attempt to acquit spiritual authority of all serious responsibility in the atrocities which have been committed for the upholding of the faith. The stalwart Romanists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have laughed at such diluted moonshine. Observe the tone in which Baronius addressed Paul V.: "Blessed father, the ministry of Peter is twofold, — to *feed* and to *kill*. For the Lord said to him, 'Feed my sheep'; and he also heard a voice from heaven, saying, 'Kill and eat.' To feed sheep is to take care of obedient, faithful Christians, who in meekness, humility, and piety show themselves to be sheep and lambs. But when he has no longer to do with sheep and lambs, but with lions, and other wild, refractory, and troublesome beasts, Peter is commanded to kill them; that is to say, to attack, fight, and slaughter them, until there be none such

¹ See page 227.

left.”¹ More specific, if not more suggestive, are the words of the distinguished Bellarmin, who says that Roman Catholics universally teach the propriety of delivering over incorrigible heretics for the purpose of being burned, and that an innumerable multitude has been burned by the authority and consent of the Church.² What less could the resolute dogmatist say, at least as respects the propriety of burning heretics, when he had in mind the *ex cathedra* decision of Leo X.?³

8. METHODS. — The Inquisition in general sought to awe the minds of the people by a combination of secrecy and display. In different countries, however, the element of display was unequal. In Spain it reached the maximum. “The courts of the Inquisition,” says Prescott, “were distributed throughout the country, and were conducted with a solemn pomp that belonged to no civil tribunal. Spacious buildings were erected for their accommodation, and the gigantic prisons of the Inquisition rose up, like impregnable fortresses, in the principal cities of the kingdom. A swarm of menials and officials waited to do its bidding. The proudest nobles of the land held it an honor to serve

¹ Quoted by W. H. Rule, *History of the Inquisition*, ii. 208.

² Speaking of Luther's view that capital punishment ought not to be inflicted on heretics, he says: “Contrarium docent omnes Catholici. . . . Nos breviter ostendimus, haereticos incorrigibiles, ac praesertim relapsos, posse ac debere ab ecclesia rejici, et a secularibus potestatibus, temporali-bus poenis, atque ipsa etiam morte mulctari. . . . Quod haeretici sint saepe ab ecclesia combusti, ostendi potest, si adducamus pauca exempla de multis. Ut alios infinitos omittam, Joannes Huss et Hieronymus de Praga in Constantinensi Concilio ab Imperatore Sigismundo exusti fuerunt.” (*De Membris Eccl. Mil.*, lib. iii. cap. 21, 22.)

³ See pages 77, 78, in this volume.

as familiars of the Holy Office. In the midst of this external pomp, the impenetrable veil thrown over its proceedings took strong hold of the imagination, investing the tribunal with a sort of supernatural terror. An individual disappeared from the busy scenes of life. No one knew whither he had gone till he reappeared, clothed in the fatal garb of the *san benito*, to take part in the tragic spectacle of an *auto de fé*.”¹

The methods which the Inquisition employed to secure conviction have been so fully outlined in the directory of Eymerich and the accompanying commentary by Pegna, not to mention other authorities, that there is no room for doubt on any important point. The general character of these methods is expressed in temperate terms when it is said, that never has judicial outrage been carried to greater perfection than in the Holy Office. The prisoner had no opportunity to confront those who witnessed against him; even their names were in most instances withheld.² Any class of persons, criminals, perjurers, the excommunicate, could testify against the accused. Proof of mortal hatred in the witness was declared to be the only warrantable

¹ Philip the Second, i. 345, 346.

² Eymerich says that some pontiffs had decided in favor of withholding the names of witnesses in all cases; others, for withholding them only when harm would be likely to result if they were disclosed. (Directorium, p. 627.) Pegna evidently considered the former as the better direction, and also as the one dominating practice. He quotes this instruction from the Madrid office, given in 1561: “Quamquam in aliis tribunalibus soleant iudices ad veritatem delictorum indagandam conciliare testes cum delinquentibus, in judicio Inquisitionis nec debet, nec solitum est fieri; quia præterquam quod ex hoc violatur secretum, quod circa testes præcipitur, experientia notum est, quod si quandoque id factum est, non est secutus inde bonus effectus, immo ex eo incommoda orta sunt.” (p. 436.)

ground for his rejection.¹ Heretics and near relatives could testify against the reputed heretic, but never for him.² The inquisitor might entice the accused to witness against himself, by making to him vague promises of leniency; by hinting that he is about to depart, and during a long absence must leave him to the rigors of the prison; by artfully pretending that he already has the evidence which he wishes to extract; by authorizing a seeming friend to approach the prisoner and to feign sympathy with his opinions.³ In case of notori-

¹ Directorium, p. 446. "In favorem fidei, infames, conscii criminis ac participes necnon et excommunicati, et quibuscunque aliis criminibus irretiti, in defectum praesertim aliarum probationum, ad testificandum in causa fidei admittuntur, immo etiam perjuri. Refellit igitur sola inimicitia, non quaecunque, sed capitalia."

² Directorium, p. 612.

³ Among the expedients which Eymerich enumerates, the fourth and the ninth are especially striking: "Quarta cautela inquisitoris est: ut si videat Inquisitor haereticum vel delatum nolle detegere veritatem, et scit eum per testes non esse convictum, et secundum indicia videtur eidem esse verum, quod deponitur contra eum: quòd quando negat hoc vel illud, quòd inquisitor accipiat processum, et revolvat eum, et post dicat ei: clarum est, quòd non dicis verum, et quòd ita fuit sicut dico ego; dicas ergo veritatem negotii clarè: sic ut ille credat se convictum esse, et sic apparere in processu. Vel teneat in manu unam cedulam seu scripturam, et quando delatus seu haereticus interrogatus negabit hoc vel illud, inquisitor quasi admirans dicat ei; et quomodo tu potes negare, nonne clarum est mihi? et tunc legat in cedula sua, et pervertat eam, et legat. Et post dicat: ego dicebam verum: dicas postquam vides me scire." (p. 434.)

"Nona cautela inquisitoris est: ut si videat haereticum nullatenus velle prodere veritatem, habeat inquisitor unum de complicitibus suis, seu alium bene ad fidem conversum, et de quo inquisitor bene confidere possit, illi capto non ingratum, et permittat illum intrare, et faciat, quòd ille loquatur sibi, et si opus fuerit, fingat se de secta sua adhuc esse, sed metu abjurasse, vel veritatem inquisitori prodidisse, et, cum haereticus captus confiderit in eo, intret quodam sero ad haereticum illum captum protrahendo locutiones cum eodem, et tandem fingat nimis esse tardè pro

ous heresy, no advocate was allowed. In other cases the prisoner might be allowed an advocate, but the same was to be approved by the inquisitors, was to communicate with his client in their presence, and was to admonish him to confess his fault.¹ If the responses of the accused were unsatisfactory, he might be subjected to torture, and if he did not adhere to the confession made upon the rack, the torture might be repeated, or, in inquisitorial phrase, *continued*.² In a question of faith there was no privileged order; persons of any rank could be subjected to the torture.³ Where proof was wanting, suspicion could in part take its place. Thus, one discharged for lack of evidence, but under grave suspicion, if he should afterwards be convicted, could be sentenced as a relapsed heretic.⁴ In short, everything was construed "in favor of the faith," and to the disadvantage of the defendant. Left in the dark as to his accusers, enfeebled in body and mind by torture or long imprisonment, and beset by artifice, there was scarcely a possibility for him to escape, if the

recessu, et remaneat in carcere cum eodem, et de nocte pariter colloquantur, ut dicant sibi mutuo, quæ commiserunt, illo, qui superintravit, inducente ad hoc captum. Et tunc sit ordinatum, quòd stent extra carcerem in hoc loco congruo explorantes eos, auscultantes, et verba colligentes, et si opus fuerit notarius cum eisdem." (p. 434.)

¹ Ibid., p. 447.

² Ibid., pp. 481, 484, 593, 594. Pegna says: "Laudo equidem consuetudinem torquendi reos, maxime his temporibus, quibus facinorosi vix ullis cruciatibus delicta commissa fatentur" (p. 594). If the doctor of law could write thus in his study, what must have been the practice when a stubborn prisoner fell into the hands of the most rigorous or passionate among the inquisitors?

³ Directorium, p. 483.

⁴ Ibid., p. 331.

inquisitors were heartily desirous of his conviction. As Bernard Délicieux testified before Philippe le Bel, a Saint Peter or a Saint Paul, prosecuted for heretical conduct, could find no effectual means of defence under the methods of the Inquisition.¹

For obstinate heretics and the relapsed, the ordinary penalty was death by burning. In the case of the former it was generally deemed expedient to postpone the sentence for a considerable time, that the spirit of the prisoner might be broken down by the horrors of the prison intermingled with persuasions and seasons of milder treatment.² It was barely possible, even after

¹ Lea, i. 450. It is the opinion of this thorough investigator, that the harsher features which began in the later mediæval era to prevail in the secular jurisprudence were due largely to the recommendation that the Church had given them in its inquisitorial procedure. He says: "The whole judicial system of the European monarchies was undergoing reconstruction, and the happiness of future generations depended on the character of the new institutions. That in this reorganization the worst features of the imperial jurisprudence—the use of torture and the inquisitorial process—should be eagerly, nay, almost exclusively adopted, should be divested of the safeguards which in Rome restricted their abuse, should be exaggerated in all their evil tendencies, and should, for five centuries, become the prominent characteristic of the criminal jurisprudence of Europe, may safely be ascribed to the fact that they received the sanction of the Church. Thus recommended, they penetrated everywhere along with the Inquisition; while most of the nations to whom the Holy Office was unknown maintained their ancestral customs, developing into various forms of criminal practice, harsh enough, indeed, to modern eyes, but wholly divested of the more hideous atrocities which characterized the habitual investigation into crime in other regions." (i. 559, 560.)

² Speaking of those who seem ready for martyrdom, the Directory says that they are not hastily to be executed, "*sed sunt diu, videlicet per medium annum, vel per unum in carcere detinendi duro, et obscuro bene compediti: nam vexatio frequenter aperit intellectum, et calamitas carceris: et sic sunt detinendi et frequentius admonendi, quòd in corpore, et anima cremabuntur, ac perpetuo damnabuntur, et similia. Et si videant episcopus et*

pronouncing sentence, to commute the punishment to imprisonment for life, if there was an exhibition of penitence at that stage; but this indulgence was declared extremely impolitic.¹ In the later practice of the tribunal, those who accepted the offices of the Church at the stake might be strangled before being burned. On the criminal code of the Inquisition, any penalty short of a capital infliction was counted a very moderate punishment for heresy. A Romish commentator on the tender mercies of the Church spoke as a faithful exponent of the Holy Office when he remarked: "The Church, who is the mother of mercy, and the fountain of charity, content with the imposition of penances, generously accords life to many who do not deserve it. Whilst those who persist obstinately in their errors, after being imprisoned on the testimony of trustworthy witnesses, she causes to be put to the torture and condemned to the flames. Many, again, who sincerely repent, she, notwithstanding the heinousness of their transgressions, *merely sentences to perpetual imprisonment.*"² Life-long imprisonment was the regular penalty for the penitent heretic, at least if he had not been

inquisitor, quòd nec propter prædictorum informationem, nec propter carceris calamitatem à suis erroribus voluerit resilere, tentent si cum aliis quibus consolatoriis possent eum reducere, ponendo eum in carcere minus malo, vel camera competenti, proviso tamen ne possit evadere; et lautius faciant sibi ministrari, et promittere quòd si à suis erroribus convertatur quòd se habebunt ad eum misericorditer; et si resiliat, benedicatur Deus. Si autem per aliquot dies, sic habitus, et tractatus noluerit resilere, permittant ad eum venire filios, si quos habet, præsertim parvulos, et uxorem, seu alios attinentes, qui eum emolliant, et eidem in aliorum præsentia colloquantur." (p. 514.)

¹ Directorium, p. 518.

² L. Marineo, quoted by Prescott, Ferdinand and Isabella, i. 349.

very prompt to confess and renounce his error.¹ Sentence to the prison was accompanied by the confiscation of the property of the condemned. Confiscations, in fact, might be called the sinews of the war against heresy, as thence came both means and motive for carrying on the prosecutions with vigor. The treatment awarded for moderate faults in those who readily expressed their submission depended much on the temper of the inquisitors and the degree of panic which was felt by the authorities. He who escaped with anything less than life-long penance and disqualification for office might count himself fortunate.

4. WORK.—In the modern era the Spanish Inquisition wrought with the most destructive energy. The Jews were the first to endure extreme inflictions; then Protestants and Moors came in for their share in exterminating severity. After the final expulsion of the Moors, in the early part of the seventeenth century, a large proportion of the victims continued to be of Jewish extraction.

Nothing could be more pitiable than the fate of the Jews. Many of them, driven by intolerable persecution, had been led during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to embrace the Christian faith. But their profession was held under suspicion, and, stigmatized as "New Christians," they were continually subject to inquisitorial scrutiny. In 1481 the wholesale sacrifice began. Not less than two thousand were burned during the administration of Torquemada, and a much larger number were subjected to lesser punishments.² The

¹ Directorium, p. 503.

² Llorente puts the number of the burned at a much higher figure

multitude of the victims at Seville caused the governor at this time to erect the *Quemadero*, or burning-place, that is, a large stone platform, set off with huge statues, which might be permanently serviceable for the burning of victims.¹ In 1492, as the crowning misery for the persecuted race, all the Jews who would not give up their Jewish faith were required to leave the kingdom. Indescribable suffering attended their exodus.² The officers of the Inquisition were the foremost advocates of this expulsion.

As before stated, the first grand *auto de fé* for the burning of Spanish Protestants took place in 1559, and by the year 1570 Protestantism was substantially exterminated in Spain.

The sum total of the victims of the Spanish Inquisition, from the time of Torquemada to the year 1809, is given by Llorente, ex-secretary of the Madrid office, as follows: burnt alive, 31,912; burnt in effigy, 17,659; otherwise punished, 291,450.³ It is possible that the first of these estimates is somewhat too large. A suspicion that such is the case can arise when it is considered that the inquisitors used every art to secure a recantation, and that a recantation, except of a relapsed person, ordinarily averted the capital sentence. Still

(*Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, i. 279, 280). Hefele, who complains that Llorente misquotes Mariana, says that this historian reports the number burned in the time of Torquemada as two thousand, which number was also given by Pulgar, a contemporary of the inquisitor-general (Der Cardinal Ximenes, pp. 267, 268).

¹ Llorente, i. 160.

² It is not an immoderate estimate which places the number of the expatriated at 160,000, or 170,000 (Hefele, Der Card. Xim., p. 330).

³ *Histoire*, iv. 271.

when writers who had no motive to exaggerate report that two thousand were burned under the first inquisitor-general, or that more than four thousand were sent to the stake in Seville alone between 1480 and 1520,¹ it is manifest that the victims of the extreme penalty were not a small company. The greater measure of suffering, nevertheless, was not at the stake. The blasted lives and injured consciences of the vast multitude who were ground by the despotic machinery of the Inquisition, but escaped sentence of death, represent by far the larger total of misery.

Such an institution could but react with deadly effect upon the national life. The apologist can indeed point to the fact, that in certain lines there was no small measure of intellectual activity in Spain at the time when the Inquisition was most flourishing. But the explanation involves no compliment to that tribunal. In the epoch when the New Inquisition began its work, the Spanish was perhaps the most enterprising nation on the face of the earth. Its relations and its prospects were peculiarly stimulating. An impetus accordingly was felt by the Spanish mind which despotism itself could not suddenly stifle. It needed some generations to make manifest the natural result. That the blight came, and came largely in consequence of the shackles imposed by organized religious intolerance, no one can entertain a doubt who compares the splendid opportunities of the nation at the opening of the sixteenth century with its later history, and reflects duly on the benumbing effect of a continued and pervasive espionage.

¹ Paramo, *De Origine et Progressu Inquisitionis*, lib. ii. tit. ii. cap. iii.

The Inquisition in Portugal was less efficient than in Spain, but if anything more brutal. The dependencies of Portugal and Spain felt in a measure the tender mercies of the Holy Office, and some victims were numbered in India, South America, and Mexico.

In France, after the extinction of the Albigensian heresy, the Inquisition found a comparatively limited field. Independent in spirit, an advocate of Gallican liberties, France preferred to slaughter heretics in her own way rather than by instruments of papal appointment. During the fifteenth century the University of Paris became in a measure a substitute for the Inquisition, the weight attached to its dogmatic decisions giving it somewhat the character of a tribunal of the faith. The exigencies of the Reformation era led to some attempts to introduce the Inquisition after the Spanish model; but the opposition was too strong to be overborne.

A previous section has indicated how vigorously the Inquisition wrought in Italy near the middle of the sixteenth century. Among the more noted victims, after the great onslaught against the Protestants, were Giordano Bruno, Galileo Galilei, and Miguel de Molinos.

The system of thought which Bruno advocated was undoubtedly anti-Christian as well as anti-Romish. Casting aside revelation, and putting in its place a speculative philosophy of the world, he ran into a pantheistic naturalism. The outcome of his thinking was not very different from that of Spinoza. After sojourning in different countries, he fell at length into the clutches of the Inquisition. Seven years of im-

prisonment failed to break his spirit, and he was burned at Rome, February 17, 1600.

The opinions of Galileo on the earth's motion first called forth the strictures of the authorities in 1616. At that time he was not formally censured, but was put under distinct injunction not to teach the Copernican theory as truth or probable hypothesis, though he was not prohibited from using it as a bare hypothesis or convenient fiction in astronomical reckoning.¹ This injunction he endeavored to keep in the letter; but his scientific zeal did not allow him to keep it in the spirit. Accordingly, advocates of the old Ptolemaic theory began to stir up the authorities. In 1633 Galileo was brought before the Inquisition in Rome. He readily consented to renounce his theory, or rather declared that he had not held it since it had been censured in 1616. Nevertheless, he was obliged to undergo the humiliation of an abjuration, and, while he was not made a close prisoner, was put under restraint as to his place of abode during the remainder of his life.

The ground of the proceeding against Galileo was undoubtedly his scientific theory. The notion that he made himself obnoxious by going out of his proper domain, and meddling with questions of theology, is abundantly disproved. He was himself accused of contradicting Scripture before he brought his theory of the earth's motion into any comparison with Biblical teaching. In that comparison he resorted to no ultra

¹ The inference that the prohibition was not absolute rests on the conclusion that one item in the records at Rome is not genuine. This conclusion is strongly sustained by Karl von Gebler, in *Galileo Galilei und die Römische Curie*.

or irreverent maxims, but stated principles of Scriptural interpretation which now are almost universally regarded as moderate and sound.¹ Not a sentence of his is on record in which he disparaged the authority of the Bible or questioned one permanent feature of the Romish faith.² The friendly relations which he preserved with leading ecclesiastics up to the time of his trial, when he was already about seventy years of age, indicate that he was not a man of iconoclastic temper or manners, and was not so regarded. His fault was a too ready submission to arbitrary authority. The conclusion is hardly avoidable, that he yielded to ecclesiastical mandates at the expense of mental honesty.

The extent to which the scientific theory of Galileo was censured and condemned, is also ascertained with sufficient certainty.³ That theory was declared, in February, 1616, by the theologians who acted as qualificators for the Roman Inquisition to be philosophically absurd, formally heretical, and directly contradictory of many statements of Scripture.⁴ In the following

¹ See his letter to Castelli, and also his apology addressed to the Grand Duchess Christine, quoted by Gebler, i. 58-62, 81-88.

² "Galileo," says Gebler, "was thoroughly a believer. His revolutionary discoveries never awakened in his mind a doubt about supernatural mysteries as they were taught in the Catholic Church. All his letters, even those to his most trusted friends, show this unmistakably." (i. 338.)

³ See documents as given by Henri de l'Épinois, *Les Pièces du Procès de Galilée*; Karl von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei*.

⁴ The qualificators passed their verdict on two propositions: "Prima: sol est centrum et omnino immobilis motu locali. Censura: omnes dixerunt dictam propositionem esse stultam et absurdam in philosophia et formaliter hereticam, quatenus contradicit expresse sententiis sacrae Scripturae in multis locis, secundum proprietatem verborum et secundum expositionem et sensum SS. Patrum et theologorum doctorum. Secunda: terra non est

month, the Congregation of the Index placed on the prohibited list three works that were most conspicuous for teaching the modern theory, namely, that of Copernicus on the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, that of Didacus a Stunica on Job, and that of Foscarini on the movement of the earth and the fixity of the sun.¹ The sentence which the Inquisition pronounced in 1633, besides quoting the verdict which had been given by the qualificators seventeen years before, describes the Copernican theory as contrary to Scripture and embracing grave and pernicious error.² In the formula of

centrum mundi nec immobilis, sed secundum se totam movetur etiam motu diurno. Censura: omnes dixerunt hanc propositionem recipere eandem censuram in philosophia et spectando veritatem theologicam ad minus esse in fide erroneam."

¹ Having characterized the theory of the mobility of the earth and the immobility of the sun as "*falsam illam doctrinam Pythagoricam, Divinaeque Scripturae omnino adversantem*," the sentence of the Congregation proceeds: "*Ideo ne ulterius hujusmodi opinio, in perniciem Catholicae veritatis serpat, censuit dictos Nicolaum Copernicum de Revolutionibus Orbium, et Didacum Astunica in Job, suspendendos esse donec corrigantur, librum vero P. Pauli Antonii Foscarini Carmelitae omnino prohibendum, atque damnandum, aliosque omnes libros pariter idem docentes, prohibendos, prout praesenti decreto omnes respective prohibet, damnat atque suspendit.*"

² "*Judicamus et declaramus te Galilaenum supradictum ob ea, quae deducta sunt in processu scripturae, et quae tu confessus es ut supra, te ipsum reddidisse huic S. Officio vehementer suspectum de haeresi, hoc est, quod credideris et tenebris doctrinam falsam et contrariam Sacris ac Divinis Scripturis, Solem videlicet esse centrum orbis terrae, et eum non moveri ab Oriente ad Occidentem, et Terram moveri, nec esse centrum Mundi, et posse teneri ac defendi tanquam probabilem opinionem aliquam, postquam declarata ac definita fuerit contraria Sacrae Scripturae. . . . Ne autem tuus iste gravis et perniciosus error ac transgressio remaneat omnino impunitus, et tu in posterum cautior evadas, et sis in exemplum aliis, ut abstineant ab hujusmodi delictis, decernimus ut per publicum edictum prohibeatur liber Dialogorum Galilaei Galilaei, te autem dam-*

abjuration which was prescribed to Galileo, the same theory is in like manner characterized as false and repugnant to Scripture.¹ As a safeguard against the heresy which was punished in Galileo, notice of his sentence was officially communicated to the papal ambassadors in the different quarters of the Roman Catholic world, as also to the archbishops, bishops, and inquisitors in Italy. Nor was haste made to remove the restrictions which had been imposed. In fact, the Index still harbored its futile warning against the Copernican theory down to the year 1835.²

In this condemnation of scientific theory the papal authority, as was natural in a matter conducted under the very shadow of the papal throne, was a leading factor. Bellarmine, in the paper which he drew up in 1616, certifying that Galileo had not been compelled during his stay in Rome to make any formal abjuration or to undergo penance, distinctly refers the censure of the Copernican theory which was then published to the Pope (Paul V.) as the primary source.³ In the subsequent proceedings the Pope was undoubtedly the supreme director. In conversation with the Tuscan ambassador, who acted as intercessor for Galileo, Urban VIII. repeatedly expressed his consideration for

namus ad formalem carcerem hujus S. Officii ad tempus arbitrio nostro limitandum."

¹ "Falsam opinionem, doctrinam repugnantem Sacrae Scripturae."

² Gebler, i. 380.

³ "Ma solo gli è stata denunziata la dichiarazione fatta da Nostro Signore e pubblicata dalla Sacra Congregazione dell' Indice, nella quale si ritiene, che la dottrina attribuita al Copernico, che la Terra si muova intorno al Sole e che il Sole stia nel centro del mondo senza muoversi da oriente ad occidente, sia contraria alle Sacre Scritture e però non si possa difendere nè tenere."

the person of Galileo, but reprobated his teaching as heretical.¹ The preparation for the trial of 1683, and the trial itself, took place under the direct supervision of the Pope; so that the whole action against the accused proceeded by his order or with his approbation. The Pope gave, moreover, an extra expression of orthodox zeal by punishing those who had so loosely exercised the office of censors as to allow the publication of the Dialogue of Galileo. In view of these and other facts, it is perfectly manifest that it was under the pressure of papal authority that the aged scientist humbled himself in Rome, and formally abjured as heresy the Copernican theory. If what is done in the sample is done in the mass, then papal authority placed every Roman Catholic under obligation to reject the Copernican theory as heresy. Such an historical passage is certainly not agreeable to the dogma of papal infallibility. One who is content with technicalities may perhaps find a way through the difficulty by practising on the phrase *ex cathedra*. But God is not a grand-master of red tape, and if He gave infallibility at all, He meant it for practical guidance.

The responsible connection of the Papacy with the condemnatory sentence did not end with Urban VIII. In 1664 an Index was published, in which were contained the catalogues of prohibited books which had previously been issued, together with decrees relating to the prohibition of books up to that year, and among these decrees that of 1616 against the Copernican treatises. To this Index was affixed a bull, from the hand of Alexander VII., wherein each and every specifica-

¹ Gebler, *passim*.

tion of the said Index was declared to be confirmed by apostolic authority.¹

Molinos, a Spaniard by birth, after laboring for a time in his native country, betook himself to Rome. There he published, in 1675, his "Spiritual Guide," containing the precepts of his mystical theology. This little treatise met with remarkable favor, and was widely disseminated. Thousands of minds sighing for a better satisfaction than they had found in ceremonies and external practices looked to Molinos as the spiritual leader who had showed them the way to the land of

¹ "Indices Tridentinum et Clementinum, una cum suis appendicibus Indici huic generali adjiciendos curavimus, simulque omnia decreta ad haec usque tempora in hac materia post praedicti Clementis Praedecessoris Indicem emanata, ne quid omnino, quod curiosae fidelium diligentiae prodesse posset, omissum videretur. Quae omnia cum juxta mentem nostram diligenter et accurate fuerint exequationi mandata, composito Indice generali hujusmodi, cui etiam Regulae Indici Tridentini cum observationibus et instructione memorato Indici Clementino adjectis appositae fuerunt: Nos de praedictorum Cardinalium consilio eundem Indicem generalem, sicut praemittitur jussu nostro compositum atque revisum, et typis Camerae nostrae Apostolicae jam impressum, et quem praesentibus nostris pro inserto haberi volumus, cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium confirmamus et approbamus, ac ab omnibus tam Universitatibus, quam singularibus Personis, ubicumque locorum existentibus inviolabiliter et inconcusse observari mandamus, et praecipimus." (*The Pontifical Decrees against the Motion of the Earth*, 2d edition, London, 1870, pp. 65, 66.)

It may properly be noticed here, that the Index referred to in this connection, that is, the one having central or papal authority, received its first draft in the year 1557, being then published under the authority of Paul IV. This was enlarged by Pius IV., and republished in 1564. It was accompanied, in the revised edition, by ten rules, which were to govern the practice of the Church in dealing with doubtful books. The fourth of these rules limits the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular to such persons as may obtain, on the recommendation of the parish priest, a written permit from bishop or inquisitor.

promise. The authorities were not unfriendly ; indeed, it is understood that Pope Innocent XI. entertained a genuine regard for Molinos.

There were those, however, who looked askance at the devout mystic. And such had not long to search for a ground of attack. For the system of Molinos, while in large part identical with that of mystics who have been honored with the badge of sainthood, contained an anti-Romish phase. His stress upon the inner life, and his doctrine of quietism, or complete passivity before the Divine will, paid little tribute to the characteristic ceremonialism and sacerdotalism of Roman Catholicism. On this side, in fact, the teaching of Molinos was open to some exception, even from an evangelical standpoint. While he probably stood himself high above affiliation with practical antinomianism, those of coarser fibre could bring forward the claim of passivity as a shield from proper responsibility in their actions.

The first attack upon Molinos showed how strongly he was intrenched at Rome. The attack was a complete failure, and the book in which it was embodied was condemned. But a well-devised expedient soon turned the scale. The opponents of Molinos had the ear of Louis XIV. The weight of his influence at the papal court reversed the conditions. In 1685 Molinos was arrested by the Inquisition. Two years later, he was sentenced to life-long imprisonment, and sixty-eight propositions, purporting to be extracted from his teaching, were condemned.

It had been the opinion of Galileo that the Jesuits were the instigators of the prosecution under which he

suffered. That they were the main authors of the crusade against Molinos is well known.

An appropriate conclusion to the general subject of the section may be found in a suggestion of charity. It should be remembered that those who were sent to the prison or the stake, or were maimed in estate and reputation, were not the only victims. The agents of the Inquisition were themselves held in an unrelenting grasp. They were fettered and controlled in large part by the system of thought and feeling which dominated the age. Undoubtedly, in applying this system there was an element of selfishness, as there is in all despotism. But there was also much of honest conviction. It remains, indeed, to be proved that those who made the terrible record of inquisitorial cruelty and injustice transgressed any more grievously than do those who, in the face of the record, stand up and anathematize all denial of the infallibility of Pope and hierarchy.

III. — THE JESUITS.

No other society known to history has so clothed itself with honor and dishonor. Soon after its establishment, it was found to be a unique blending of good and evil; and such it has been ever since. In the Jesuits we see marks of liberality joined with intense bigotry, more than average enlightenment in union with rank fanaticism, astonishing self-sacrifice combined with the most artful endeavors after self-aggrandizement. Their fortunes have been as mixed as their moral record. They have figured alternately as the Isaac and the Ish-

mael of the ecclesiastical household ; one day favored sons, the next wandering outcasts ; at one time the preferred counsellors of popes and princes, at another the object of their censure and proscription. Their foes have not been found in one church, but in all churches. Roman Catholic countries have scored more decrees against them than have Protestant nations. The sharpest criticisms and most cutting satires which have assailed the Society have emanated from Romish authors.

Apologists for the Jesuits have confessed the exceptional odium which has fallen to the lot of the Order. In some instances they have distinctly advertised their recognition of the historical fact by prefacing their works with the Scriptural sentence, "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake." A discreet application of Scripture, surely, for the followers of Loyola ! But how can the Roman Catholic allow it to stand, when he reflects that from the precincts of his own communion the Jesuits have received as much anathema as benediction ? He must naturally be led to look elsewhere for an explanation of the unusual measure of censure and proscription. And it is not necessary to look far. One supreme fact affords the major part of the explanation. *The Jesuits in their central idea and essential spirit are the Pretorian Guard of ecclesiastical monarchy and spiritual despotism.* They are and always have been the standing army of Ultramontaniam.¹ As often, therefore, as a Roman Catholic people has displayed a quickened national feeling or incentive to independence, it has felt

¹ Counter manifestations have been only as eddies in a current, and are sufficiently explained by special causes.

that the Jesuit was in the way, a foe to every movement that might not be in harmony with abject obeisance at the footstool of Peter.¹ Prized for the pressing exigency, the time of special conflict with exterior foes, his presence, like that of the armed soldier in a republic, has often been felt as a menace after the passing away of the crisis.

1. THE RISE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE ORDER. — “In the year 1537, three men craved audience of the Pope. The spokesman of the party was a Spaniard; rather short of stature, complexion olive dark; eyes deep-set, but full of fire, broad forehead, nose aquiline; he limps, but it is scarcely perceptible.”² Such is the description of Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde, or Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, otherwise known as the Jesuits.

Early inducted into the use of arms, Loyola partook largely of that spirit of knighthood which his countrymen more than any other nation of Europe had continued to foster. His ideal was that of the mediæval warrior. The trophies of the battle-field, and the smile and the homage which his deeds of valor might win from some fair divinity, were the prizes upon which his imagination dwelt most vividly. He was still full of this spirit of romance and chivalry, when a wound which he received while engaged in the defence of Pampeluna

¹ Joseph II. of Austria spoke as an exponent of this feeling when, in 1773, he thus described the Order: “An institution which the heated imagination of a Spanish veteran contrived for the purpose of bringing the mind of man under one tyrant, and reducing all to be slaves of the Lateran.” (Quoted in *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, translated by J. Craig.)

² Steinmetz, *History of the Jesuits*, i. 138.

against the French (1521) put an end to his visions of martial glory. A confirmed lameness, as the result of his wound, inclined him to turn his ambition into a new field. The legends of the saints which he read during his convalescence taught him that honor was to be won in a religious as well as in a worldly profession. More from the desire of emulating the deeds and gaining the renown of a Francis or a Dominic, than from any profound religious emotions, he consecrated himself to the ascetic life. Having deposited his arms in the Benedictine Abbey of Montserrat, Loyola sought a religious retreat in Manresa. During his sojourn in this place, he is supposed to have outlined the Spiritual Exercises, which, in their perfected form, embraced a long series of meditations, designed to stimulate and guide the religious imagination, and to develop a peculiarly enthusiastic type of piety. If he had entered upon the new order of life without deep religious convictions, Loyola was not destined to proceed far without such incentives. Meditation and introspection stirred up his conscience, and a sense of his sins drove him wellnigh to despair. The cure to which he resorted was not like that of Luther in a similar exigency. He resolved finally to banish his disturbing thoughts as a persecution of Satan, and, instead of turning to the Scriptures and the free grace which they disclose, he turned to the visions of his ardent fancy and to works of self-denial, as the source of his confidence before God.

After a brief and fruitless sojourn in Palestine, Loyola studied for several years in Spain, where he was treated with little regard and much suspicion. The interval between 1528 and 1537 was spent mainly in the prosecu-

tion of his studies in Paris. Here was gathered the nucleus of the future Society. His unflinching enthusiasm and inborn spirit of leadership attracted to Loyola several men of ability. Six united with him (1534) in a vow of special service to the Church. These were the four Spaniards, Francis Xavier, James Laynez, Alphonse Salmeron, and Nicholas Bobadilla, the Portuguese, Simon Rodriguez, and the Savoyard, Peter Faber. To this group were added, before the year 1537, three others, namely, Claude le Jay, John Codure, and Paschase Brouet. It was their intention on leaving Paris in 1537 to embark from Venice for the Holy Land. But they were prevented from doing this by a war with the Turks. Loyola and his comrades, therefore, presented themselves before the Pope, and prayed him to sanction their project for a new order. The Pope gave his sanction in 1540, and renewed it, with less restrictions, three years later.

The Jesuits were not designed to be a body of recluses, consuming the greater part of their time and energies in the devotions of the cloister. They were designed for the world, for conquest, for propagandism, for the promotion of the Roman Catholic Church by every species of practical effort. They were to serve as an instrument of tremendous practical efficiency.

At every point this leading design revealed itself. It might be observed in the appearance and the occupation of the members. They were not obliged to conform to a special style of dress characteristic of the monastic profession.¹ Except during a portion of the season of preliminary training, they were not required

¹ *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, pars vi. cap. ii. § 15.

to spend a great length of time in devotions. Bodily macerations were to be practised with moderation.¹ The chief stress was laid upon work bearing upon men and upon society, upon preaching, hearing confessions, instructing the youth, and winning converts by an effective use of personal influence. Indeed, the Jesuits can scarcely be reckoned among monastic orders.²

The aim at practical efficiency was made to appear also in the choice of members. Attractive looks and manners were far from being counted matters of indifference.³ Fervent piety was valued as a most useful stimulant to a persevering employment of personal abilities, but mere piety was a small recommendation to membership. Special abilities and aptitudes were counted of prime importance; indeed, the emphasis upon these qualifications was carried so far that friends of the Order began to fear that piety within its ranks would be placed at a discount. The first generation in the history of the Order was hardly completed when the General, Francis Borgia, found occasion to write as follows: "Truly, if, disregarding the inner vocation and spirit of the candidate, we make account only of his literary attainments, his opportunities, and his bodily accomplishments, the time will come when the Society

¹ "Corporis castigatio immoderata esse non debet, nec indiscreta in vigiliis et abstinentiis, et aliis poenitentiis ac laboribus externis; quæ et nocumentum afferre, et majora bona impedire solent." (Const., pars iii. cap. ii. § 5.)

² Suarez, a distinguished member, aptly described the Society when he said, "Est quorundam militum societas."

³ *Species honesta* is distinctly mentioned among desirable qualifications. (Const., pars i. cap. ii. §§ 3, 10.) Wealth and noble rank are described as desirable adjuncts, though not by themselves adequate recommendations. (Ibid., § 13.)

will find itself indeed much occupied with literature, but without any zeal for virtue, and pride will have free rein, with no one to hold it in check. . . . Therefore let this be the foremost counsel and hold the leading place, lest experience shall at length teach that which the mind deduces by reasoning. And would that, before now, undeniable experience had not more than once taught all this.”¹ That the Jesuits afterwards thought it necessary to falsify the text of this part of their General’s message must be regarded as the very opposite of an evidence against the tendency which it specifies.

The general organization of the Society also reveals, in a signal manner, the great, leading design of practical efficiency. A government at once more strong and more flexible could not well be conceived. It is made especially strong by the prominence given in its whole scheme to the duty of obedience, by the care taken to prevent the admission of any who would not be likely to imbibe the spirit of the Order, by the extensive prerogatives assigned to the General, and by the close relations established between him and his subordinates. At the same time, though there is no lack of regulations specified in the written Constitution, the General has so large a dispensing or discretionary power that he can readily provide for exceptional cases, and so manage affairs as to suit present demand.

The General is elected for life, and is practically the autocrat of the Society, though in certain specified cases he may be deposed by the General Congregation. This

¹ “Atque utinam jam non ante hoc totum experientia ipsa saepius testata docuisset.” (Quoted by Steinmetz, ii. 318, 319.)

body elects five Assistants (primarily four), who serve as the General's cabinet; also the Admonisher, "whose duty it is ever to be by the side of the General, like the personification of a pursuing conscience," and the Confessor. Aside from these officers, the whole official patronage is in the hands of the General. Under him are the Provincials or heads of provinces, appointed for a term of years. Below the Provincials are the Rectors of colleges, the Superiors of the houses of the Professed, etc. The Rectors and Superiors, if dwelling in Europe, are required to report in writing every week to the Provincial. The Provincial must report once a month to the General, who has his official residence in Rome. To guard against any possible suppression of facts on the part of the Provincial, all Rectors, Superiors, and Masters of Novitiates are bound to report to the General himself once in three months. In view of such connections, it is no exaggerated metaphor which speaks of the Order of Jesuits as a sword whose hilt is at Rome and whose point is everywhere.

The first stage in preparation for membership is a novitiate of two years. The training during this interval is directed rather to religious than to intellectual results. The candidate is disciplined in obedience by the performance of menial offices, and in devotion by much exercise in meditation and self-examination. Great pains are taken to eliminate every item of insubordination and to penetrate the individual with the spirit of the Order. To this end, no communication is allowed with the outside world, not even with the nearest relatives, except under the close supervision of a Superior. A part of the Novices, not being destined

to the priesthood, pass on to the secular wing of the Society, and are ranked with the Temporal Coadjutors, who conduct the different forms of manual industry which are needed in the various establishments. After a considerable term of service, the Temporal Coadjutor takes the public vows and has *formatus* added to his title. The remainder of the Novices pass from the first stage of their probation into the class of approved Scholars or Scholastics (*Scholastici approbati*), at which time they take the simple as distinguished from the solemn vows. The solemn vows are taken only by the Professed. The simple vows obligate the candidate, so far as he is concerned, to continue in the Society, and in the practice of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but do not bind the Society to regard his membership as a finality. The Scholastics pass through an extended course of study, commencing with the classics, proceeding through mathematics, ethics, philosophy, logic, physics, metaphysics, and ending with scholastic theology. Meanwhile this class includes masters as well as scholars proper, their service being much used in teaching. The Scholastic at his ordination becomes a Spiritual Coadjutor. When he takes his public vows he completes his standing as Coadjutor (receiving the title *Coadjutor Spiritualis formatus*), or passes into one or the other division of the Professed. Besides engaging in preaching and instruction, the Spiritual Coadjutors share in the administration of colleges and residences. The Professed Fathers of the three vows, differ little in their functions from the Spiritual Coadjutors. They are the least numerous of all the ranks. The Professed Fathers of the four vows are a select

class, the core of the Order, who take, in addition to the threefold monastic vow, a fourth vow of unhesitating obedience to the Pope in relation to missionary work. The higher officials all come from their midst, — the General, the Assistants, the Provincials. They also compose the Congregation, which chooses the General and the Assistants. Only a moderate fraction of the Society is admitted to this supreme rank.

The question has been raised whether the scheme of the Jesuits provides for occult affiliation. A discriminating writer remarks on this subject as follows: "The Jesuits have on all occasions stoutly denied the existence of a clandestine grade of membership; but we are not acquainted with any writer of the Order who has effectually grappled with the particular texts and incidents which can be pointed to as giving color to the allegation that to affiliate by secret profession, and to allow those thus affiliated to live in the guise of seculars, is neither contrary to the letter of the rules, nor has been absolutely foreign to the practice of the Order."¹ As the written regulations for the Professed of the three vows do not involve very definite limitations, it has been surmised that secret affiliation, if in reality it has place, is connected with this class.

2. ACHIEVEMENTS AND REVERSES. — The Jesuits marched at once to victory. New recruits sought admission to the Order. Numerous colleges arose under

¹ W. C. Cartwright, *Constitution and Teaching of the Jesuits*, p. 40. Mr. Cartwright notes the concession of a Roman Catholic critic, that a very few cases of secret affiliation, beside that of Borgia, have occurred (p. 47).

its supervision. By the death of Loyola, in 1556, the Order numbered thirteen provinces and a thousand members, and had laid the foundation of great missionary enterprises. At the celebration of its first centennial, it could boast of more than thirteen thousand members and thirty-two provinces. In the Roman Catholic reaction, which turned back the tide of a victorious Protestantism, the Jesuits were leading agents. Other orders, to be sure, participated in that great uprising of the mediæval Church. The Capuchins, a branch of the Franciscans, labored with marked zeal. But no other order wrought with such wide-spread effect as the Jesuits. In some instances, they urged on the temporal power to measures of persecution and repression. They were eager allies of the League in its designs to exterminate the Huguenots. Their agents were prominent instigators of the armed invasion which was expected to destroy Protestant rule in England. They were in the ascendant at the Bavarian and Austrian courts when Protestantism was forced out of Southern Germany, and stirred up and sustained the aggressive spirit which precipitated the Thirty Years' War. But they also made extensive use of more creditable weapons. In particular, their service in teaching, which was given gratuitously, was made an effective means of propagandism. While they have been outstripped in later times, and are no longer conspicuous for their educational methods, they surpassed all rivals in their early days. Much account was made by them of the preliminary and intermediate stages in training. Interest was stimulated by the offer of prizes. Repetition of exercises was prescribed, in order to give the

student a facile management of his acquisitions. In general, a system was employed which, if it did not develop the pupil most fully, made him ready and expert in the use of his abilities. This naturally won patronage. The sons of the nobility in great numbers became attendants at the schools of the Jesuits. Of course, in the majority of instances they graduated from such tuition as zealous Romanists.

In estimating the missionary successes of the Jesuits a good degree of caution is needed. Many of the accounts which have come from the Oriental field seem to have reached the West by the way of Crete. The large figures given are not sufficiently accredited. And even were they adequately vouched for, they would still afford a very indefinite measure of results; for those numbered as converts were in too many instances little better than whitewashed heathen. Still, it is to be allowed that the missionary successes of the Jesuits were remarkable.

Francis Xavier, the first great apostle of the Jesuits in the foreign field, has fitly been styled the Alexander of missions. More ambitious for breadth than for completeness of conquest, restless, devoted, armed with unusual powers of address and persuasion, he pushed his labors over a vast stretch of territory, and left his impress upon widely separated regions. A beginning was made by him in India in connection with the Portuguese settlement at Goa. Thence he proceeded to different parts of the country, as well as to the adjacent islands. His success among the Indian populations was not such as to be specially gratifying. To be sure, he speaks of baptizing whole villages in a single

day,¹ and testifies that in a certain district he applied the rite to more than ten thousand within the space of a month.² But how substantial were these acquisitions? Let his own words testify. We find him at a later date writing to his co-laborers in this strain: "Trust my experience; all of any moment that we can do among this nation, all that is worth our labor, comes in the end to these two kinds of service, baptizing infants and teaching the children who have any capacity of learning."³ Equally significant are the words which he addressed to Ignatius Loyola: "The whole race of the Indians, as far as I have been able to see, is very barbarous; and it does not like to listen to anything that is not agreeable to its own manners and customs. It troubles itself very little to learn anything about divine things and things which concern salvation. . . . The natives are so enormously addicted to vice as to be little adapted to receive the Christian religion. They so dislike it that it is most difficult to get them to hear us if we begin to speak about it, and they think it like death to be asked to become Christians. So, for the present, we devote ourselves to keeping the Christians whom we have."⁴

It was in Japan that the energetic and gifted missionary left the best monument of his evangelistic enterprise. Xavier himself complimented the Japanese as the most intelligent, receptive, and steadfast of the

¹ Letter of Dec. 31, 1543, quoted by H. J. Coleridge, *Life and Letters of Francis Xavier*, 2d ed.

² Letter of Jan. 27, 1545.

³ Letter of February, 1548.

⁴ Letter of Jan. 14, 1549.

heathen that he had visited.¹ A Christian Church arose and reached a flourishing condition, when it was ruined by a persecution which raged fiercely at intervals during a period of fifty years (1587-1637). If accounts may be trusted, a hundred Jesuits lost their lives, and native Christians were slaughtered by the hundred thousand. This outbreak of violence is not without an explanation. The Japanese government had, in fact, considerable grounds of jealousy. Some of the subordinate rulers who espoused Christianity became intolerant of the heathen religion, destroying its temples, banishing its priests, and forcing their subjects to adopt the Christian worship.² The desire of different classes of Europeans to save to themselves a favored place naturally helped the suspicion of the Emperor. The Portuguese were not willing that the Spaniards should have the preference; while English and Dutch voyagers, fresh from the memories of deadly strife with the Papal Church at home, had no disposition to recommend it to the Japanese. These causes united precipitated the persecution.

Xavier's ten years' career in the East was brought to an end by death, in 1552, as he was about to set foot

¹ "The Japanese are certainly of remarkably good dispositions, and follow reason wonderfully." (Letter of July, 1551.) "As I perceive in the Japanese a happy disposition for approving the Christian religion when sufficiently explained to them, and for persevering with constancy therein when they have received it, as well as handing it on to their posterity, I think that even the greatest labor would be well employed in cultivating them." (Letter of Jan. 29, 1552.)

² The evidence for these facts comes in large part from the missionaries themselves, and not merely from the testimony of opponents. (Charlevoix, *Histoire du Japon*. See also Rein, Dixon, and Griffin on Japan.)

within the borders of China. Naturally, the characteristic pride of the Jesuits over the exploits of their heroes has been exhibited to an extraordinary degree over his career. Eulogy, in fact, has been carried to an extreme which passes over into caricature. The moment we step away from authentic documents we sink into a bottomless ooze of the fabulous. The letters of Xavier give the real picture of the missionary. We see mirrored therein, not a man of great intellectual breadth or high religious intelligence, but a man of great enterprise and most ardent devotion, and withal endowed with a good share of keen practical sense.

The successors of Xavier in India were scarcely inferior to him in zeal. In expedients they outranked him. For the sake of gaining converts, great concessions were made to the prejudices, customs, and beliefs of the natives. Some even went to the length of subjecting themselves to the caste system of the Hindoos. Nobili, a distinguished Jesuit, and several others, assumed the habit and life of Brahmins. Some allied themselves with the opposite extreme of society, and became identified with the despised Pariahs. On these strange expedients the Rev. W. S. Mackay has commented as follows: "The high-born Robert de' Nobili and the martyred Britto, Father Tachard and Bishop Lainez, Fathers Bouchet, Martin, Turpin, De Bourges, Mauduit, Calmette, the learned Beschi, the noble De la Fontaine, and the veteran Père Le Gac, in a word, every Jesuit who entered within these unholy bounds [Madura], bade adieu to principle and truth,—all became perjured impostors; and the lives of all ever

afterwards were but one long, persevering, toilsome *lie*. Upon the success of a *lie* their mission depended. Its discovery — we have it under their own hands — was fraught with certain and irremediable ruin. Yet they persevered. Suspected by the heathen, they persevered. Through toils, austerities, and mortifications, almost intolerable to human nature, disowned and refused communion by their own brother missionaries, condemned by their own General, stricken by Pope after Pope with the thunders of the Vatican, knowing that the apostolic damnation had gone forth against all who ‘do evil that good may come,’ — yet they persevered. For one hundred and fifty years was enacted this prodigious falsehood, continually spreading and swelling into more portentous dimensions, and engulfing within its fatal vortex zeal, talents, self-denial, and devotion, unsurpassed in modern times. Men calling themselves the servants of the true God went forth clad in the armor of hell; and, sowing perjury and falsehood, they expected to reap holiness and truth.”¹

As indicated by the above, the broad concessions made to heathenism by the Jesuits met with disapprobation in their own Church, — a disapprobation which finally deepened into unmistakable prohibition. But the representatives of the Order in the Orient generally, in China as well as in India, were pertinacious in the policy of accommodation. Pleading that the conceded rites had a civil rather than a religious import, they were slow to yield assent to commands which their Constitution bound them to accept with ready submission. As late a Pope as Benedict XIV.

¹ Quoted by Steinmetz, iii. 491, 492.

found occasion (1741-1744) to issue the most decisive decrees against the obnoxious practices.

In China, where the Jesuits found entrance about thirty years after the death of Xavier, they won a great number of converts. Aside from their approximation to heathen customs, they were greatly aided in that country by their knowledge of science. The teachings and inventions of such geniuses as Ricci and Adam Schall made them great favorites even at the imperial court. The native Christians in China are said to have numbered several hundred thousand before the close of the seventeenth century.

In South America, also, the Jesuits won remarkable trophies of missionary activity. They began early to labor in Brazil and Peru. Thence, in the later years of the sixteenth century, they advanced to Paraguay. Here in the next century they built up a kind of theocracy. Sheltered in large measure from the interference of the neighboring Spaniards, whom they justly regarded as foes to the welfare and improvement of the Indians, they endeavored to mould them into a civilized commonwealth. Gathering the natives into villages, called *reductions*, they exercised over them a minute supervision, religious, civil, and industrial. At one time there were thirty or more reductions, comprising between one and two hundred thousand inhabitants. The condition of these subjects of the Jesuits, while not so ideal as has sometimes been represented, was no doubt paradise compared with the slavish lot which fell to them under the ordinary Spanish rule; and it may be allowed that the régime was not ill-suited to a state of transition from barbarism to civ-

ilization ; but, of course, a tutelage so minute and patronizing cannot be commended, except as a temporary expedient. The Jesuit government in Paraguay continued beyond the middle of the eighteenth century, but was finally overthrown by Spanish interference. The armed resistance which the reductions had presented to the scheme of Spain and Portugal in running a boundary through their precincts (1750-1758) had greatly prejudiced the standing of their priestly superintendents.

The Jesuits shared conspicuously in the missionary labors conducted among the North American Indians. In no field were their sacrifices greater in proportion to their successes. The names of Brébeuf, Jogues, Garnier, Lallemand, Daniel, and others, who labored in the first half of the seventeenth century among the fierce northern tribes, are justly treasured in the records of martyr courage and steadfastness. Their zeal, it is true, was sufficiently mixed with superstition. No less than the untutored savages, they believed in magical charms, as may be judged from their painful and oftentimes crafty diligence to apply the baptismal water to dying infants. But a generous mind will have little interest to measure the sand that was mixed with the gold. The patience and heroism of these evangelists, who exchanged the civilization of France for the hospitality of savages and the pains of martyrdom, must ever command sympathy and respect. That a larger harvest was not won by them was due to no lack of skill or devotion on their part. To bring the intractable Indian under the yoke was no easy task. Moreover, there was a special and most formidable

obstacle in the way of success. Inter-tribal warfare, urged on by the incarnate fury of the Iroquois, blasted their most hopeful undertakings. Thus the work among the Hurons was ruined. After the lapse of a century we find, aside from some slight amelioration of barbaric asperity in unconverted tribes, the results of all the heroic toil of the Jesuits summed up in "the obedient Catholicity of a few hundred tamed savages gathered at stationary missions in various parts of Canada."¹

To some peculiar natures the life among the wild men of the forest, however much of sacrifice it may have involved at the outset, became at last positively attractive. Thus we find one giving this enthusiastic description: "My friend, you know not what it is to be the king — almost even the God — of a number of men, who owe you the small portion of happiness they enjoy, and who are ever assiduous in assuring you of their gratitude. After they have been ranging through immense forests, they return overcome with fatigue, and fainting. If they have killed but one piece of game, for whom do you suppose it is intended? It is for the *Father*, — for it is thus they call us; and indeed they are really our children. Their dissensions are suspended at our appearance. A sovereign does not rest in greater safety in the midst of his guards, than we do surrounded by our savages. It is amongst them that I will go and end my days."²

The reverses of the Jesuits have been on a scale corresponding with their successes. Before the death

¹ Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*, 22d edition, p. 320.

² Steinmetz, ii. 21, 22.

of Loyola, they were denounced by the University and Parliament of Paris.¹ They were driven out of England, under the severest penalties, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Toward the close of the same century they suffered a very trying crisis on the Continent, brought on by national jealousies within the Order, the desire of a considerable faction to limit the absolute power of the General, and the hostility of the Dominicans. All the skill and energy of an Aquaviva, one of the ablest generals that ever ruled the Order, were required to allay the storm. They suffered a temporary banishment from France under Henry IV. A banishment from Venice occurred at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Soon after the middle of the eighteenth century they were banished from Portugal, France, and Spain, their heavy mercantile speculations and management at court having brought them into great disfavor. Distinct tokens of papal disapprobation were mixed at intervals with the enormous privileges bestowed upon the Jesuits. Sixtus V. was minded to bring down their pride a few degrees. Expressing an intense dislike of their name, he exclaimed, "Society of Jesus! Ah indeed! What kind of men are these fathers, that one cannot name them except with uncovered head!" The obnoxious title, he asserted, must be relinquished. The sons of Loyola might call themselves Jesuits, but that they should subscribe themselves the Society of Jesus was intolerable. A decree expressing his pleasure in the matter received the signature of Aquaviva, and nothing but the timely death of the

¹ De Thou, lib. xxxvii.; Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, i. 308-320.

Pope (1590) prevented its authoritative promulgation.¹ Innocent XI., in 1679, published a list of forbidden propositions, in which he plainly meant to stamp some of the characteristic teachings of the Jesuits with the apostolic malediction. At length, in 1773, Clement XIV. declared the Order dissolved, and it remained without a legal existence, in most regions, until 1814. Since its restoration, it has been banished for a longer or shorter time from Italy, Spain, France, Russia, Switzerland, Belgium, Bavaria, Austria, the German Empire, and various Roman Catholic States in America.

In the literary field also the Order has received severe handling. In 1610 caustic animadversions upon Jesuit principles were published under the title "Anti-Cotton." Two years later appeared the cutting satire, "Monita Secreta Societatis Jesu," a treatise which may be pronounced a shade too clever, since its satirical intent was not so manifest but that some have taken it for a genuine specimen of secret counsels. A little less than a half-century later there was issued the most scathing of all anti-Jesuit writings, the "Provincial Letters," one of the products of Pascal's genius. Individual criticisms from Roman Catholic sources have been scattered all along the history of the Order. As one of the earliest specimens, we may quote the language of the distinguished Spanish theologian, Melchior Cano. "Would to God," he wrote in 1560, "that I might not incur the same fate which fable imputes to Cassandra, whose predictions no one would believe till Troy had been taken and burned. If the members of the Society continue as they have begun, God grant

¹ Buss, *Die Gesellschaft Jesu*, ii. 872, 873.

that the time may not come when kings will wish to resist them, and will find no means of doing so.”¹

3. PRINCIPLES AND CONDUCT. — Obedience to a superior has always claimed great emphasis from the Jesuits. It might be termed the corner stone of their constitution. Loyola was never weary of insisting upon this principle. In 1553 he wrote to the Portuguese houses that true obedience binds the judgment only in a less degree than the will, and requires the submission of the former to the decision of the superior whenever that is not in plain conflict with evidence of compelling force.² Shortly before his death he dictated, as fitting sentiments for each disciple, such maxims as these: “On my first entrance into religion, and at all times after, I ought to resign myself into the hands of the Lord my God and of him who governs me. I ought to desire to be ruled by a superior who endeavors to subjugate my judgment and subdue my understanding. When it seems to me that I am commanded by my superior to do a thing which my conscience revolts against as sinful, and my superior judges otherwise, it is my duty to yield my doubts to him unless I am otherwise constrained by evident reasons. If submission does not appease my conscience, I must impart

¹ Crétineau-Joly, i. 290. Melchior Cano gave also an account of the unfavorable impression made upon him by Ignatius Loyola during a personal interview at Rome. “*Multa etiam et magna prædicabat de revelationibus quas divinitus habuisset, idque nullâ ejus rei necessitate; quæ fuit occasio cur eum pro homine vano haberem, nec de revelationibus suis quicquam ei crederem.*” (Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, ii., 1737, art. sur Loyola.)

² Original given by Isaac Taylor, *Loyola and Jesuitism in its Rudiments*, Appendix.

my doubts to two or three persons of discretion, and abide by their decision. If this does not content me, I am very far from having attained the perfection required by a religious life. In a word, I ought not to be my own, but His who created me, and his too by whose means He governs me, yielding myself to be moulded in his hands like so much wax."¹ In the Constitutions of the Society we read: "Let every one persuade himself that they who live under obedience should permit themselves to be moved and directed by Divine Providence through their superiors, just as if they were a dead body, which allows itself to be moved and handled in any way; or as an old man's staff, which serves him who holds it in his hand wherever and in whatever thing he wishes to use it."²

It has sometimes been concluded that the Jesuits carried the principle of obedience to the extent of obligating a member to commit sin at the command of a superior. But the statement in the Constitutions upon which this inference has been based is not to be interpreted in that sense.³ The Jesuits never taught

¹ Quoted by Stewart Rose, in *Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits*, p. 482.

² *Pars vi. cap. i. § 1.* "Et sibi quisque persuadeat, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt, se ferri ac regi a Divina Providentia per superiores suos sinere debent perinde, ac si cadaver essent, quod quoquoversus ferri, et quacunque ratione tractari se sinit; vel similiter, atque senis baculus, qui, ubicunque et quacunque in re velit eo uti, qui eum manu tenet, ei inservit."

³ The passage reads: "Visum est nobis in Domino præter expressum votum, quo Societas summo Pontifici pro tempore existenti tenetur, ac tria alia essentialia paupertatis, castitatis, et obedientiae, nullas constitutiones, declarationes, vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere; nisi superior ea in nomine Domini nostri

outright that obedience is to be rendered to a sinful command. They have reached, however, by a little circumlocution, a result which practically is not remote from such an obligation. In enthroning the conscience of the Pope over all other consciences, and requiring every judgment to bow to his dictum, they leave the scruples of the individual at the mercy of the papal mandates. If the sentence of the Pope is not binding upon the subject in contradiction to his conscience, it is because he is not allowed to have any conscience as against a papal decision. This was asserted in all its length and breadth by their great dogmatist, Bellarmine. "If the Pope," he says, "might err in prescribing vices, or in prohibiting virtues, the Church would be bound to believe that vices are good and virtues evil, unless it should be willing to sin against conscience; for in doubtful matters the Church is bound to acquiesce in the judgment of the supreme pontiff, and to do what he prescribes, and to forbear to do what he prohibits. And that it may not perchance act against conscience, it is bound to believe that to be good which he prescribes, that to be evil which he prohibits."¹ Such a scheme might answer if the Pope were indefectible deity. But history, as we have been reminded in more than one instance, does not invite to that conclusion.

In estimating the moral teaching of the Jesuits, it is but just to remember that they were heirs to a system

Jesu Christi, vel in virtute sanctae obedientiae juberet." (Pars vi. cap. v.) This means simply that a regulation of the Order does not so strictly bind the conscience that its violation must involve sin, unless the regulation has been imposed in the solemn manner specified.

¹ *De summo Pontif*, lib. iv cap. 5.

in which dubious tendencies were inherent. The notion of penance combined with that of dependence on priestly absolution had given occasion for measuring and weighing sins to an abnormal degree. In order that the confessor might be duly equipped for his office and know what satisfactions to require of the penitent, hypothetical cases of all descriptions were discussed. The industry and ingenuity of theologians were taxed to make out an inventory of all earthly offences, and to rate them under their proper categories. Now in this extended and intricate task the logical faculty is likely to be overworked and to be led astray by its own subtlety. It is far from being the sole requisite for moral discernment. While it may argue down the spontaneous impressions of a healthy mind, it is no substitute for them. Its place is secondary in practical morals. Common sense, braced and enlightened by close contact with the incisive words of Christ and the apostles, is the safer guide. An exaggerated spirit of calculation in dealing with sins tends at once to dull the moral sensibility and to entangle the judgment. This had been illustrated in no inconsiderable degree before the Jesuits entered the lists. As in the old Pharisaic legalism elements of laxity found place alongside the mass of rigorous prescriptions, so was it in the elaborate system of legality which came down from the mediæval Church. The conscience was at once overloaded and given undue license, the burden of the non-essential hindering the due recognition of the essential. What gave the Jesuits their bad reputation was the fact that they brought out the lax side of this overgrown legalism with more boldness and decision than any body of their predecessors. It was not that

they had any set purpose to work corruption of morals. The result came about for a twofold reason. While, as ambitious teachers, they exercised their acuteness to a great extent on the details of casuistry, as zealous propagandists, intent on forwarding the interests of the Church, and at the same time of their own Order, they had a practical incentive to lighten the yoke of Christ and to present a conciliatory attitude to the world. The scope given in the Romish system to sacramental magic, as a means of salvation, naturally helped on the bent to a perverse accommodation, since it tended to lower regard for the inward rectitude of the individual as compared with his continuous connection with an ecclesiastical mechanism.

Three tenets pertaining to Jesuit casuistry are of special notoriety, namely, probabilism, the lawfulness of mental reservation in affirmations and oaths, and the doctrine that the end justifies the means.

The essence of probabilism is the license in questions whose solution admits of some doubt to make election of any opinion that is accounted probable, or presumed to be safe, though a different and antagonistic opinion may be the more probable and the more safe. In its most extreme form, the doctrine assumes that a single author, reputed to be learned and discreet, can render an opinion probable, though the mass of writers may take the opposite view. Thus eleven authors may forbid me to fight a duel, but if a twelfth, who is deemed to be possessed of great learning and insight, sanctions the duel under the supposed circumstances, I am authorized to elect his opinion as probably safe and right, and in acting upon it I shall not prejudice my claim to

absolution when I come to the confessional. As presented by many writers, probabilism approaches to this example in the degree of license which it concedes to the individual. It provides, in short, a cheap and easy method of avoiding inward heart-searchings, of relaxing the stern sense of duty, of following inclination rather than the subtle monitions of conscience.

That this doctrine has been characteristic of Jesuitism is undeniable. To be sure, it was not invented by the Society of Jesus. It first appeared in distinct form in the writings of a Dominican near the end of the sixteenth century. The fact is also to be noted, that individual Jesuits strongly condemned the doctrine. Nevertheless, probabilism is properly given a special association with the Jesuits. They embraced it with an exceptional ardor, and applied it with marked boldness. It dominated the teaching of the Order in the first half of the seventeenth century. The censures of Alexander VII. (1665, 1666) and Innocent XI. (1679) placed upon it only a moderate check. They did not strike with sufficient decision at the principle, and moreover were issued in a form which allowed their ecumenical character to be questioned. The General Gonzalez strove against the doctrine in vain. Writings in opposition to probabilism which he attempted to issue before his election were rejected by the Revisers of the Order, on the express charge that they were hostile to this favorite tenet; and subsequently his position as General failed to bring him the desired opportunity to publish his sentiments. His Assistants violently opposed his design (1691-1693), and raised a commotion which threatened at one time to rob him of the func-

tions of the generalship. Surviving all opposition, the doctrine of probabilism continued to be asserted by the Jesuits, though in somewhat more guarded terms than were employed at first. As will be shown in another connection, it remains in the Order substantially intact up to this day.¹

¹ A reference to the later teaching of the Order will be found in the present volume, Second Period, chap. i. For a full historical outline of the subject, see Döllinger and Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche seit dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*. Many extracts illustrating the teaching on probabilism are given in French by Paul Bert, *La Morale des Jésuites*, pp. 33-42.

As illustrating the way in which prominent casuists expounded the matter, we subjoin a few extracts in the original.

"Probabilis sententia, uti communiter accipitur, ita definiri potest, quae certitudinem non habens, tamen vel gravi auctoritate, vel non modici momenti ratione nititur. Auctoritas gravis hoc loco censeri debet, quae est saltem unius viri docti et probi: qui tamen talem doctrinam non inconsideratè ac temere, sed post perspecta rationum pondera, quae in oppositum afferri possunt, amplexus est. . . Ex duabus contradicentibus probabilibus opinionibus, quae versantur circa actionem humanam, an ea licita sit nec ne, quisque in praxi, sive operatione sequi potest, quam maluerit; etsi ipsi operanti speculativè minus probabilis videatur. . . Doctor alteri consulenti consilium dare potest non solum ex propria, sed etiam ex opposita probabili aliorum sententia, si fortè haec illi favorabilior seu exoptatior sit." (Laymann, *Theologia Moralis*, lib. i. tract. i. cap. v. § 2, ed. 1625.)

"Probabilis opinio dicitur, quae rationibus innititur alicujus momenti. Unde aliquando unus tantum Doctor gravis admodum, opinionem probabilem potest efficere; quia vir doctrinae specialiter addictus, haud adhaerebit sententiae cuilibet, nisi praestantia, seu sufficientis rationis vi allectus. . . *Possum me probabili aliorum sententiae aptare mea probabiliorè ac tutiore relicta?* Ita planè, nec sic operans contra conscientiam agam, modò existimem alienam opinionem, quam sequor, esse probabilem." (Escobar, *Theologia Moralis*, Gen. Prin., exam. iii. cap. iii., editio quadragesima, 1646.)

"Confessarius, aut alius vir doctus, potest consulenti respondere secundum probabilem aliorum sententiam, si forte ei haec sit favorabilior, praetermissa etiam propria probabiliorè et tutiore. . . Non sunt damnandi,

The doctrine of probabilism may be regarded as the most mischievous factor in the casuistry of the Jesuits; for it raised to the character of a permissible standard for the individual the worst maxims anywhere sanctioned among the distinguished writers of the Order or of the Romish Church. Grant that on many points the maxims of this or that writer are sufficiently severe; what safeguard does this provide for the interests of morality? As a reviewer of their teachings has well said, "These expressions of rigorous sentiment are practically reduced to mere figures of speech through the all-covering action of the principle of probabilism, which runs continuously through the volume of Jesuit doctrine like a gloss that wholly modifies the force of the text. . . . Through the slides of a side-proposition artfully masked, the Jesuit doctors have provided a mechanism for converting at will the whole series of moral principles into a set of dissolving views."¹

The doctrine of mental reservation, or the maxim that one may make void a seeming affirmation or oath by using ambiguous and misleading words, which conceal rather than express the intention, may not have been formally sanctioned by the Order. Nevertheless,

qui adeunt varios Doctores, donec unum reperiant faventem sibi: dummodo is prudens, ac pius, et non singularis habeatur. Ratio est, quia intendunt sequi opinionem probabilem. . . . Qui in dubio constitutus post diligens examen se nequit resolvere, non tenetur semper eligere partem tutiorem, sed potest amplecti partem faventem suae libertati, (etiam minus tutam,) dummodo sit in possessione suae libertatis." (Balsenbaum, *Medulla Theologiae Moralis*, lib. i. tract. i. cap. ii. dub. ii., iii., ed. 1730.)

¹ Cartwright, "Constitution and Teaching of the Jesuits," p. 223. Compare the equally cogent strictures of the Jesuit Elissalde (Döllinger and Reusch, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, i. 55, 56).

in virtue of probabilism, it holds at least the place of a tolerated doctrine among the Jesuits. Writers of eminence in works approved at head-quarters, and enjoying wide patronage, have expressed it in very positive terms. These same writers, it is true, have not entirely ignored the demands of truthfulness. They have professed to rule out the *lie*; but in reality they have brought it in again under the name of *allowable amphibology*.¹ The difficulty of relieving Jesuitism of respon-

¹ "Quandocunque aliquis injustè cogitur ad juramentum, vel aliàs habet justam causam celandi mentem suam oratione ambigua vel tacita restrictione, non peccat, etiamsi alieno sensu juret. Quod intellige, si necessitas vel utilitas juramentum exigit. . . . Omne mendacium prohibetur in Scripturis. . . . Adverte tamen, mendacium per se non esse peccatum mortale, sed solum veniale, quia inordinatio illa neminem graviter lædit." (Lessius, De Justitia et Jure, lib. ii. cap. xlii. dub. 9; cap. xlvii. dub. 6.)

"Quaestio est: Utrum is, qui scienter alteri enuntiat, aut exhibet signum, seu vocis, seu facti, quod ex se, et secundum omnes circumstantias ad unum sensum, eumque falsum, determinatum est, à mendacio excusari possit idcirco, quòd mente sua aliquid aliud concipiendo adjungat, per quod oratio vera efficiatur? Affirmant Angelus, Navarra, Salon, Valentia, Sanchez, Lessius. Sed contraria sententia, à mendacio id excusari non posse, mihi vera videtur. . . . Veritatem aliquam per verbi aequivocationem, aut facti dissimulationem, alterum celare, non est per se malum; sed interdum licitum, si ob justam causam fiat. . . . Qui pecuniam mutuo sibi datam fideliter solvit, is postea in judicio conventus, si aliae probationes et exceptiones desint, juratus dicere potest, se hunc mutui contractum non instituisse; intellige tali obligatione, ut bis solvere debeat. . . . Qui sub juramento interrogatur, utrum veniat ex loco, qui falso existimatur peste infectus, jurare potest, se inde non venire, intelligendo ex loco, qualis existimatur, sicuti docent Sylvester, Navarra, Azor, Suarez, Tolemus, Sanchez, Rodriguez. Imò plerique addunt, tametsi locus infestus sit, si tamen celeriter transiens certò credat, se peste infectum non esse, jurare eum posse, non transiisse." (Laymann, lib. iv. tract. iii. cap. xiii. xiv.)

"*Uti in juramento amphibologia, hoc est, verbis alio sensu, quàm alius accipiat, est ne peccatum?* Malum intrinsecè non est, sæpe peccatum esse potest. Ex causa quidem honesta perjurium dici non potest, et si verba sint aequivoca, ex honesta causa amphibologia uti licitum est. Si tantum

sibility for this piece of unchristian laxity is sufficiently indicated by the fact that distinguished apologists for the Order openly approve it, excusing on principle the prevarication, for example, which was practised by Garnet in connection with his trial for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot.¹

The maxim that the end justifies the means has been declared by the Jesuits foreign to their teaching. No doubt, the Society as a whole has never accorded it a formal sanction. But very prominent writers from their ranks have given quite an explicit statement of the maxim. Thus, for example, we find it with "Busenbaum whose 'Medulla' has gone through more than fifty editions, and, by its reprint not many years ago in

hujusmodi æquivocatio sit in mente, nec eam verba ipsa includant, probabilis sententia est, haud licitum esse jurare : sed probabilius, illicitum non esse. . . . Sacerdos interrogatus de peccato in confessione audito potest respondere, etiam (si opus est) addito juramento, se nihil tale in confessione audisse, subintelligendo, tanquam privatum hominem. Aliqua bona tibi necessaria abscondis, ne à creditore capiantur, et cogaris mendicare : potes interrogatus à iudice jurare, te nulla abscondita habere, subintelligendo, quæ manifestare tenearis." (Escobar, tract. i. exam. iii. cap. iv., vii.)

"Licet æquivocè jurare, si juramentum exigatur injustè; ut v. g. si quis exigit juramentum, qui jus non habet, v. g. iudex incompetens; vel si non servet ordinem juria." (Busenbaum, lib. iii. tract. ii. cap. ii. dub. iv.)

¹ Crétineau-Joly, referring to Garnet's apology for equivocation and Lingard's strictures on the same, adds that the executed Jesuit simply declared the approved doctrine of the Church. "'L'homme qui professait de telles opinions,' ainsi s'exprime le docteur Lingard dans son Histoire, 'ne pouvait raisonnablement se plaindre si le Roi refusait de croire à ses protestations d'innocence et s'il laissait agir les lois.' Ces paroles de l'historien anglais ont de la gravité : tout en chargeant le Père Garnett, elles n'empêchent pas de dire que la doctrine des Jésuites est approuvée par l'Église entière, et qu'elle fait même partie intégrante de la jurisprudence. l'ersonne, en effect, n'est tenu de s'accuser soi-même." (Tome iii p. 117.)

Rome, at the press of the Propaganda, can claim the continued and solemn approval of the supreme authority of the Church. 'Cum finis est licitus, etiam media sunt licita,' are his words, and again, 'Cui licitus est finis, etiam licent media' (ed. Francoforti, 1653). Amongst Jesuit luminaries of the first magnitude ranks Laymann. In his 'Theologia Moralis,' (Munich, 1625,) we meet with the same proposition in almost the identical formula, 'Cui concessus est finis, concessa etiam sunt media ad finem ordinata.'"¹ However, we are not inclined to lay very great stress upon these formal statements. If the present attainment of an end is justifiable, then there must be *certain* means whose present use is justifiable, though other means to the same end might be excluded. It is only as the maxim is understood to sanction indifference or arbitrariness in the choice of means to an end, that it becomes vicious and detestable. More than the bare statement of the maxim, therefore, we are disposed to emphasize those actions and those solutions of cases of conscience, which, in an unpleasant number of instances, have indicated a disposition in the Jesuits to harbor the maxim in the loose and pernicious sense.

Very radical ground was taken by individual casuists in connection with a number of specific requisitions of the moral code. The command, "Thou shalt not steal," became in their rendering an injunction not to steal except under pressure of extreme or grave need, or in a case where unjust exaction has been made, or where insufficient pay has been given for service. The same class of writers also taught that purloining is only a

¹ Cartwright, *Constitution and Teaching of the Jesuits*, pp. 167, 168.

venial offence, even when there is no question of need or recompense, provided the thefts are not of large amounts, are distributed over a sufficient area of wealthy people, and do not follow each other too quickly. In fine, a very fair starting-point for the development of communistic teaching was provided.¹ Duelling and homicide were treated with nearly as great indulgence by a number of casuists, the conclusion being drawn that a serious affront to honor or attempt upon property may justify the offering of a challenge. Even the informal killing of a personal enemy was declared permissible in a case of special insult or danger.² As if

¹ "Probabile est, non solum in extrema, sed etiam in gravi necessitate morbi, famis, nuditatis, posse te clanculum surripere ab opulentis, si aliter grave illud malum avertere nequeas." (Lessius, lib. ii. cap. xii. dub. xii.)

"Sint v. g. triginta mercatores, quibus singulis auferas pazium, fieri potest, ut mortaliter non delinquas, quia nulli eorum grave damnum inferas. . . . Qui rem ablatam, vel apud se depositam, commodatam, &c. urgente extrema necessitate absumpsit, nihil restituere debet, postquam ad meliorem fortunam pervenit. . . . Si debitum certum ac liquidum sit, nec alia ratione, puta extra, vel intra iudicium petendo, moraliter recuperari possit, per se loquendo, illicitum non est, propria auctoritate illud, vel ejus aequivalens occultè accipere." (Laymann, lib. iii. sect. v. tract. iii. pars i. cap. i.)

"*Surripere ne possum rem meam, quae injusto titulo apud alium est?* Delinquis quidem, si aliter recuperare possis; sed tamen ad restitutionem non teneris; quia tua est. . . . *Principis sum creditor, qui ab eo solutionem non possum obtinere: possum ne vectigalia in compensationem defraudare?* Potes: valetque hujusmodi doctrina etiam in censibus, decimis, et aliis juribus alteri elocatis. . . . *Servus ne peccat mortaliter, quando in quantitate notabili à suo Domino aufert?* Peccat, nisi fortè Dominus sit irrationabiliter invitus: v. g. si necessaria non suppeditet; tunc enim servus habet jus sibi succurrendi, ita jure naturae dictante." (Escobar, tract. i. exam. ix. cap. iii.)

² "Non solum pro defensione vitae, ac honoris, sed etiam facultatum, quae non modici momenti sunt, et alia ratione liberari, aut recuperari non poterunt, permiscum est aggressorem, vel raptorem vulnerare, interficere.

ambitious to reduce Christianity as nearly as possible to the rank of a heartless mechanism, some argued that there is no such necessity for loving God under the New Dispensation as existed under the Old, since now the virtue of the sacraments compensates for the lack of love. *Attrition* as distinguished from *contrition*, or a repentance whose motive is rather the unseemliness of sin and the dread of punishment than supreme love to God, was declared to be sufficient for salvation. Love to God in the sense of a positive affection was not counted indispensable, except at special eras or crises in one's moral career. Indeed, the more extreme advocates of the doctrine drew the conclusion that one might live a sinful life, and still, by an exercise of simple attrition in the article of death, gain admission to heaven, without having once experienced an emotion of love to God.¹ The doctrine of attrition did

. . . Petrus Navarra et Sanchez universim aiunt, licitum esse tam offerre, quàm acceptare duellum, etiam propria auctoritate; et non solùm ob defensionem vitæ, sed etiam honoris, ac fortunarum. Deinde addunt, in tali casu præstare calumniatorem clàm è medio tollere, quàm duelli periculo se committere." (Laymann, lib. iii. sect. v. tract. iii. pars iii. cap. iii., v.)

"Dico, Fas etiam est viro honorato occidere invasorem, qui fustem vel alapam nititur impingere, ut ignominiam inferat, si aliter hæc ignominia vitari nequit. . . . Si nomini meo falsis criminationibus apud principem, judicem, vel viros honoratos detrahare nitaris, nec ulla ratione possim illud damnum famæ avertere, nisi te occultè interficiam; Petrus Navarra inclinât, licitum esse, talem è medio tollere. Eandem tanquam probabiliorem defendit Bannes, addens, idem dicendum, etiamsi crimen sit verum; si tamen est occultum, ita ut secundùm justitiam legalem non possis pandere. Idem tenent quidam alii recentiores. Verùm hæc quoque sententia mihi in praxi non probatur; quia multis occultis caedibus præberet occasionem." (Lessius, lib. ii. cap. ix. dub. xii.)

¹ "Hoc discrimen est inter statum legis Evangelicæ, et statum ante gratiam Evangelii; quòd ante legem gratiæ nemo adultus à mortali peccato liberari et justificari poterat sine vera contritione, includente charitatem

not become so prevalent as that of probabilism. It had nevertheless many advocates in the seventeenth century.

The reflection which is naturally called out by the preceding paragraphs is aptly expressed in the following words of Cardinal Bausset: "In reading these strange decisions, one is tempted to ask if their authors made profession of Christianity, or even if they understood the first principles of natural law."¹

In theology the Jesuits came very soon to represent the most anti-Augustinian wing of the Roman Catholic

Dei super omnia ; propterea, quòd sacramenta veteris legis inania signa erant, quae gratiam Dei per se non conferebant ; sed excitabant fidem in Christum, quae si formata fuerat per actum charitatis, et contritionis, vim habuit justificandi. In lege autem nova post commissum peccatum mortale non est necessaria vera contritio homini suscepturo sacramentum baptismi, vel poenitentiae ; sed sufficit attritio, etiam cognita : quamobrem dici solet, ex attrito virtute sacramenti fieri hominem contritum. Quod non ita intelligi debet, quasi actus attritionis transeat in actum contritionis ; sed quòd peccator per attritionem, cum sacramento baptismi, aut poenitentiae, perinde justificetur, atque per veram contritionem extra sacramentum. . . . Praeceptum affirmativum de Deo super omnia diligendo certis tantum temporibus obligat. Ita omnes. Sed quatenam sint illa obligationis tempora, difficile est definire. Valentia septem recenset ex Soto. Sanchez vero ex iisdem et aliis auctoribus novem enumerat ; sed pleraque rejicit, quia incerta ac dubia sint. Quatuor tamen mihi certiora videntur, quorum duo priora continent obligationem per se ; alia per accidens." (Laymann, lib. v. tract. vi. cap. ii. ; lib. ii. tract. iii. cap. ii. Compare Escobar, tract. v. exam. iv. cap. i.)

¹ "Lorsqu'une fois ils eurent établi en principe qu'un seul écrivain suffisoit pour rendre une opinion probable, toutes les dignes furent rompues ; et rien ne peut être comparé aux prodiges d'extravagance et d'immoralité que quelques casuistes osèrent proposer comme règles de conduite et de morale. En lisant ces étranges décisions, on est tenté de demander si leurs auteurs faisoient profession du Christianisme, ou même s'ils connoissoient les premiers principes de la loi naturelle." (Histoire de Bossuet, livre xi. § 10.)

Church. They were not all indeed equally interested to honor human ability over against Divine grace and sovereignty. But after Molina, in 1588, had taken a radical position on this subject, there was a general tendency in the Order to sustain his views. By the favor of the Pope, Molinist teachings were at last given the preferred place in the Church, as may be judged from the tenor of the bull *Unigenitus*.

The Jesuits were early distinguished in politics by their advocacy of popular sovereignty and tyrannicide. While they exalted the authority of the Pope as the immediate gift of God, and claimed for him the right to constrain or even to depose kings when they acted contrary to the interests of the Church, they represented that the power of the sovereign comes, not directly from God, but from the will of the people. Bellarmine espoused this doctrine, and taught that, inasmuch as the temporal power is the property of the people, they may delegate it to one or to several, or recall it to their own hands. This stress, however, upon the prerogatives of the people, is not to be taken as indicative of any permanent bias of the Jesuits towards popular government. Like the Romish hierarchy in general, the Jesuits have treated politics as a mere instrument, and have sided with monarchy or democracy as has best suited their interests. In the revolutionary movements of 1848, they were commonly reckoned as enemies of democratic tendencies and principles. In advocating the doctrine of tyrannicide, they were animated by precisely the same motives. Of course, according to the Jesuit definition, any king who seriously threatened the interests of the Romish

Church was to be accounted a detestable tyrant, and worthy of the assassin's knife. So distinguished a Jesuit writer as Mariana patronized this doctrine, and exhibited a practical zeal in its behalf by passing a glowing eulogy upon the murderer of Henry III. "Splendid boldness of soul!" he exclaims over the assassination. "Memorable exploit! By killing the King, he achieved to himself a mighty name." At length, however, the bloody maxim brought such opprobrium upon the Society, that the General, Aquaviva, forbade (1614) its farther advocacy, at least within the bounds of France.

In conduct, as well as in principles, the first Jesuits may be ranked considerably higher than those who figured a generation or two later. They possessed great religious earnestness, whatever discount may be placed upon their religious intelligence. A vein of mystical piety was clearly perceptible in them. They exhibited, indeed, something of that leaning to mere expediency which endangers the suppression of conscience and principle in the striving for outward success. But it was left to those who came after them to develop this tendency to its full proportions, and to make Jesuitism a synonym for an unscrupulous propagandism.

The craft and accommodation practised by the Jesuits were not limited to the heathen populations of the Orient. Courts and confessionals in Europe witnessed the ample employment of the same means. In Sweden, for example, during the reign of John III., who exhibited at one time a strong leaning to a modified Romanism, a scene transpired which reminds of a Nobili in the garb of a Brahmin. In 1576 two Jesuits from

Louvain arrived at Stockholm. By the advice of the intriguing monarch they concealed their true character, entered into confidential relations with the clergy, and conveyed the impression that they were genuine Lutherans. Their learning gave them a certain prestige, and a place was secured for them in the college which the King had just founded at the capital. In the lectures which they delivered here, and which the clergy were advised by the King to attend, they rendered a show of respect to the writings of the Reformers, but at the same time sought artfully to undermine their teaching. Public disputations, in which John posed as an assailant of the Pope, were used to the same end. A temporary reward of hypocrisy was won in a number of conversions.¹

In their management of the confessional, the Jesuits seem to have surpassed every other class in illustrating how easy is the yoke of Christ. Very likely they had an honest conviction respecting the need of a compromise between the inherent slavery of the institution and the demands of a liberty-loving world. At any rate, they showed themselves indulgent lords over the conscience, especially in their relations to kings and nobles. We learn from Bossuet, that Louis XIV. had reached mature life before being apprised that to love God was a fundamental Christian duty. His conscience had doubtless found an "easy chair" in the predecessors of La Chaise, as well as in this lenient confessor. The most scandalous indulgence, as the world reckons scan-

¹ Geyer, *Geschichte Schwedens*, Kap. xii.; Maimbourg, *Histoire du Lutheranisme*, livre vi.; Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ii. 192.

dal, was that conceded by Cheminot, who allowed Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, to have two wives, and stubbornly defended his course in so doing (1645-). It was reported that fourteen Jesuit doctors sided with the accommodating confessor; but this item, though mentioned by several writers, needs confirmation.¹

The style in which the Jesuits have glorified their Order and its more distinguished representatives does not require to be greatly emphasized. They have shared here in the creative faculty which has characterized other societies and parties in the Romish Church. The facility with which they have heaped up miracles for their heroes has its marked historical parallels. A part of the responsibility for this abnormal development may be charged upon the pernicious rule of the canonizing court which makes miracles a prominent test of saintship. This serves naturally as a standing bid for the fabulous trumpery of the miracle-monger, that unworthy pedestal upon which more than one imperfect mortal has been elevated to superhuman honors.

While the fact is undeniable that the Jesuits have given a wide range to a lax accommodation, it is by no means to be concluded that, as a body, they have abandoned themselves to all manner of unrighteousness. The ends sought by the Society have made imperative a certain stringency in discipline. As respects fidelity to the vow of chastity and abstinence from gross vices, the Jesuits probably have not compared unfavorably with other orders in the Romish Church.

¹ Crétineau-Joly, *iii.* 455-457.

IV. — CLERICAL CELIBACY.

THE voice of lamentation which was called forth by the irregularities of the clergy in the preceding centuries was heard all through the sixteenth century. The presence of a rival power had not yet wrought an effectual shame in the mass of offenders, nor led the officials of the Church to a politic concealment, — the exercise of that worldly discretion which is more concerned to suppress scandal than to eradicate sin. Hence we find repeated and most outspoken complaints against clerical license. In interpreting these complaints we may make some allowance for the tone of the censor, which is apt to be quite as emphatic as the facts may warrant. But even then the testimonies will be found sufficiently weighty. A few of them will be tribute enough to an unpleasant subject.

The custom of making revenue out of the frailty of ecclesiastics was not obsolete. In not a few districts they paid a tax for the privilege of keeping concubines. This is indicated by a statement in the Concordat with Francis I., presented at the Lateran Council in 1516.¹ The Diet of Nürnberg, in 1522, declared that in most of the dioceses a concubinary tax was annually levied on all the clergy, who were thus in a manner invited to an

¹ "Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam habentes, pecuniarios quaestus a concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patientes eos in tali foeditate sordescere; sub poena maledictionis aeternae praecipimus, ne deinceps sub pacto, compositione, aut spe alterius quaestus talia quovis modo tolerant, aut dissimulent." (Raynaldus, Anno 1516, n. 19.)

unchaste life, since abstinence did not excuse them from paying the fee.¹

In many instances the abandoned morals of the clergy were denounced as being among the chief instigations to religious revolt. At the Council of Cologne, in 1527, it was represented that the priesthood was both leading the people into sin, and inviting their contempt by its licentious excesses.² The orator of the Council of Augsburg, in 1548, admitted that the charge of criminal laxity against the clergy, which heretics were continually repeating, was far from being groundless.³ Faber, the associate of Loyola in founding the Order of the Jesuits, wrote from Germany, at the close of the year 1540, that it was not so much the sermons of the Lutherans as the scandalous lives of the clergy which were constraining people to turn their backs upon the Church. In a second letter, written in January of the following year,

¹ "Item in locis plerisque episcopi, et eorum officiales, non solum sacerdotum tolerant concubinatum, dummodo certa persolvatur pecunia: sed et sacerdotes continentes, et qui absque concubinis degunt, concubinatus censum persolvere cogunt; asserentes episcopum pecunias indigum esse, qua saluta, licere sacerdotibus ut vel coelibes permaneant, vel concubinas alant." (Goldast, *Collectio Constitutionum Imperialium*, i. 477, *Gravam*, cap. lxx.) Another chapter in the same list of complaints presents an almost incredible picture of audacious vileness in priests: "Pudicitiam matronarum, virginum, laicorum scilicet uxorum, filiarum, sororumque attentant, ac noctu interdumque sollicitant. Efficiunt quoque per assiduum ac indefessum laborem, partim muneribus, donis ac blanditiis, ut complures honestae alioqui virgines et matronae, partim etiam in secretis, quas vocant, confessionibus (id quod eventu ipso compertum est) diuturna opera labefactentur, ad peccata, offendiculaque commoveantur. Nec raro etiam evenit, ut ii uxores ac filias maritis patribusque detineant, et remorentur; minantes interim gladio, aqua, ignive, ultimos repetitas uxores." (Cap. xxi. p. 464.)

² H. C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 2d edit., p. 514.

³ "Negare certe non possumus, quin maximam ad nos accusandos occasionem saepe dederimus." (Lea, p. 515.)

he used this language: "Would to God that in this city of Worms there were as many as two or three ecclesiastics who were not living with concubines, or were not soiled with other notorious crimes, and who had a little zeal for the salvation of souls! For then they might do anything they pleased with this simple and well-disposed people. I speak of the towns where they have not abolished all the laws and practices, or thrown off entirely the yoke, of the Roman religion; but the part of the flock which is in duty bound to lead the unbelieving into the fold is precisely that which, by its dissolute manners, invites and forces Catholics to become Lutherans."¹

So hopeless seemed the task of enforcing clerical celibacy, or making out of the requirement anything else than a fruitful occasion of hypocrisy and libertinism, that some Roman Catholic rulers began to advocate in earnest the privilege of marriage for the clergy. This was the case with the Duke of Bavaria and the Emperor Ferdinand I., both of whom urged their conclusions upon the Council of Trent. In support of their position, some very pungent facts were presented. Thus Augustus Baumgartner, the representative of the Bavarian Duke at the Council, declared that out of a hundred clergy scarcely three or four could be found who were not living secretly or openly in concubinage.²

¹ Quoted by Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, i. 166.

² "Aggiunse, che il clero era infame per la libidine, che il magistrato politico non comporta alcun cittadino concubinario, e pur nel clero il concubinato è così frequente, che di cento non si sono trovati tre o quattro che non siano concubinari o maritarsi segretamente, o palesemente; che in Germania anco i Cattolici prepongono un casto matrimonio ad un celibato contaminato." (Sarpi, *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, lib. vi.)

The proposal of the secular rulers received no serious consideration in the Council. It was the opinion of the doctors that family ties on the part of the clergy would antagonize the bonds of the hierarchy and weaken allegiance to central authority. So far were they from making any concession, that they passed canons which not merely ordain the practice of sacerdotal celibacy, but exclude all question respecting its legitimacy. It is, therefore, with considerable show of reason, that it has been contended that the celibacy of the priesthood in the Romish Church is not merely a prescription of discipline, but a matter of dogma. The canons in question read as follows: "If any one saith, that clerics constituted in sacred orders, or regulars, who have solemnly professed chastity, are able to contract marriage, and that being contracted it is valid, notwithstanding the ecclesiastical law, or vow; and that the contrary is nothing else than to condemn marriage; and that all who do not feel that they have the gift of chastity, even though they have made a vow thereof, may contract marriage: let him be anathema; seeing that God refuses not that gift to those who ask for it rightly, neither does he suffer us to be tempted above that which we are able. If any saith that the marriage state is to be placed above the state of virginity, or of celibacy, and that it is not better and more blessed to remain in virginity, or in celibacy, than to be united in matrimony: let him be anathema."¹

¹ Session xxiv. canons ix. and x. In the light of these canons, it is obvious that the superiority of virginity to marriage is a dogma in the Romish Church. It is also a matter of faith, that one who has taken the vow of celibacy is bound thereby, and has no just plea for release, since he

Such canons may have checked the free discussion of theories, but the usual strain about the practice of the clergy was still heard with painful frequency. Pius V. found occasion to complain, in a brief to the Archbishop of Salzburg, that the Catholic religion was exposed to great harm and danger through the bold profligacy of ecclesiastics.¹ In subsequent years synods repeatedly issued measures for the correction of the scandalous irregularity. But, in spite of the increased earnestness which was developed in connection with the Romish reaction, the inveterate plague was healed but slightly, if we may judge from the bitter comments which still found expression. The darkest phase of the subject was the abuse of the confessional for purposes of seduction. That this diabolical and infinite wickedness was of frequent occurrence, in the sense that the sacramental occasion itself was used to debauch the mind of the penitent, we are very reluctant to believe. It is

can have the gift of chastity. The law of priestly celibacy is thus placed beyond challenge so long as it stands; and the obvious inference is that it should stand forever. For why should priests be allowed to forsake a state which is both practicable and superior? If anything therefore is wanting here to make sacerdotal celibacy undeniably a matter of dogma, it is simply a formal statement that the law imposing the vow of chastity ought to remain permanently in force.

¹ "Plerosque, abjecto Dei timore et sine ulla hominum verecundia, concubinas palam habere, easque perinde, ac si legitimæ eorum uxores essent, in ecclesiis et aliis locis publicis conspici, vulgo iisdem, quibus illi vocantur, officiorum et dignitatum nominibus appellatas; eoque hæreses tantopere crevisse, ac multiplicatas fuisse; quod ecclesiastici tam turpiter et nequiter vivendo, omnem plane existimationem amiserint, et in summam non apud hæreticos modo, sed etiam Catholicos contempnitionem venerint. . . . Nisi enim tam nefandum concubinatus vitium extirpetur, nullam spem reliquam esse videmus reprimi posse hæreses." (Quoted by Lea, p. 548.)

scarcely surprising, however, that some ugly facts are on record. In a moral atmosphere not specially bracing, it is necessarily a perilous combination which takes place when the ears of a celibate priest of the coarser fibre are made receptacles for all the whisperings of impurity.

CHAPTER IX.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

1. CAUSES AND FIRST STAGES OF THE WAR.— While political ambitions aggravated and prolonged the conflict, the main cause lay in religious antagonisms. No stable and satisfactory settlement of these had been effected. The peace of Augsburg afforded but an imperfect and temporary basis of agreement. It gave no guarantees to the Reformed as distinguished from the Lutherans. Its terms were such as Lutherans could accept only under protest, for Protestantism was left thereby at a disadvantage in a large part of Germany. Its rights were restricted in the ecclesiastical territories, or the bishoprics which were held immediately of the Empire. These were numerous, and some of them were large enough to constitute important principalities. According to the clause known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation, the heads of these territories were to vacate their sees with all their temporalities if they passed over to Protestantism. Moreover, Protestant subjects in these districts had, as security for the enjoyment of their religion, simply the imperial declaration, and not a definite provision in the treaty itself. Thus circumstanced, they could not of course be anxious to perpetuate a succession of Roman Catholic prelates, who perhaps would deny them any standing room in

their domains. In short, the Ecclesiastical Reservation presumed upon an impracticable fixity. When the great mass of the people in the limits of a bishopric of the Empire had become Protestant, it was next to inevitable that the bishop would not lose his prerogatives by embracing Protestantism. Nothing but the strong arm of power could install a pronounced foe of the dominant religion, and place the church property under his direction. In fact, but moderate respect was paid to the Ecclesiastical Reservation. As Northern Germany became almost wholly Protestant, the great bishoprics there passed under Protestant control. In the interpretation of the evangelical party, this was declared not to be contrary to the spirit of the treaty. The treaty, they said, was meant for a case in which a bishop, after having been elected by a Roman Catholic chapter, turned Protestant. In that event he was to resign. But where the chapter itself had become Protestant, it was not contemplated that a Protestant bishop should be excluded. This was certainly a rational adjustment of the matter. But the opposing party could plead against it the letter of the provision in the treaty. They had a show of legality on their side, though it must be confessed that it was a legality of a Shylock type which allowed a community that had been perchance substantially Protestant for more than half a century to be dispossessed of church property and threatened with exclusion from all rights of worship. An attempt to blot out three quarters of a century of history, and bring back a status which existed in the time of Charles V., was essentially a violent undertaking. There was room for the suspicion that the work of restoration, when

once effected, would turn out to be an introduction to a project for the complete extermination of Protestantism in Germany.

A reactionary movement on this extended scale was undertaken by the house of Hapsburg, which held the imperial dignity, aided by its Roman Catholic allies in Germany, especially Bavaria, and also by Spain. Ferdinand II., who represented the Austrian house during the more important stages of the war, was in temper a religious devotee, a prince whom the Jesuits, who conducted his entire education, found little difficulty in moulding according to their intent. He was not a man of commanding force or robust personality. On the most important measures he often shirked responsibility, and left the decision to his counsellors. But in one direction he had a decided bent. He was resolved to use his power, wherever opportunity was offered, for the suppression of heresy and the restoration of Romish supremacy. While yet a young man, during a pilgrimage in Italy, as his confessor reports, he vowed at Loretto that he would spare no pains to root out the sects from his hereditary domains. This promise he faithfully fulfilled in the provinces which were first assigned to his rule, those of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. If in the broader field which afterwards came under his sceptre he found more obstacles to deal with, he exhibited there still the same disposition, the same intolerant zeal.

When it is said that Ferdinand II. and the associated princes undertook a reactionary project, which aimed, under a show of legality, to cut off the acquisitions which Protestantism had made in three quarters of

a century, and indeed to endanger its existence in Germany, it is not meant that this project was distinctly conceived from the first. The project was not unfolded, perhaps not planned, until aggression from the Protestant side had supplied a pretext for sweeping measures. The order of events was on this wise. First came Roman Catholic aggression. This called out a counter aggression, though not from the whole body of Protestants. It was in fact discountenanced by a large proportion of them. In the ensuing encounter the arms of the Romish party were victorious. The advantage thus gained was used in the most intemperate manner. Later successes were improved with as little moderation, until at length a reactionary project as broad as that mentioned was openly proclaimed.

A portent of the darkened sky which was to shadow Germany appeared in a little cloud which arose in 1607. We refer to the affair of the free city Donauwerth in Southern Germany. Romanism had become a mere remnant in this place, when one of its representatives affronted the Protestant sentiment of the people by sending out a pompous procession. This led to some rudeness from the other side, though not to any destructive riot. The city, nevertheless, was put under the ban, robbed of its political privileges, placed ecclesiastically under Roman Catholic domination, and annexed to Bavaria. Such arbitrary action was naturally awakening. The next year a number of the Protestant princes, as a measure of defence against new encroachments, formed the Evangelical Union. Christian of Anhalt was a leading spirit in the organization. He is credited with some bold and resolute opinions as to

the need of curtailing the threatening power of Austria. But the Union did not embark upon any radical enterprise, and appeared for the time being simply as a precautionary alliance. In 1609, the opposite party provided an offset in a Roman Catholic League.

The more direct occasion of the prolonged struggle grew out of affairs in Bohemia. This country by the opening of the seventeenth century had in large part accepted the Reformation. So strong was the Protestant element that Rudolph, who was at once German Emperor and King of Bohemia, felt constrained in 1609 to give distinct recognition of its rights. In the Letter of Majesty, or Royal Charter, which was issued at that time, liberty of conscience was guaranteed to all who should keep within the limits of certain creeds. As to the building and use of churches, that was left to the estates; in other words, the nobles and the towns had jurisdiction within their respective territories. In the special domains of the King, on the other hand, all tolerated parties could have their churches, or freedom of public worship, as well as liberty of conscience. The charter was given grudgingly. Rudolph showed forthwith an inclination to evade its provisions. Matthias, who became King of Bohemia in 1611, and Emperor the next year, soon manifested the same disposition. After 1617, when Ferdinand was crowned King of Bohemia, the causes of complaint were aggravated. Protestants on the royal domains were denied the rights of conscience, which had been assured to them. One of their churches was closed, and another was torn down. At length, in 1618, some of the high-spirited nobles resolved to take advantage of popular feeling, and to sever the con-

nection between Bohemia and the Austrian crown. The revolution was started by an act of miscalculating outrage, and was not conducted with a discretion adequate to the emergency. The next year after the outbreak, Ferdinand was strengthened by an election to the imperial dignity. The Bohemians, who had taken their crown from Ferdinand and awarded it to Frederic of the Palatinate, received far less sympathy from the German Protestants than they had expected. Frederic did not prove to be an efficient leader. The battle of White Hill, in November, 1620, proclaimed the uprising a failure.

The defeated now lay at the mercy of the conqueror. They were treated as though mercy had no place in the Christian vocabulary. Wholesale confiscations brought them down by the hundred thousand to the verge of beggary. "The woe under which the land groaned can be likened in compass and depth only to that which, in the time of the barbaric invasions, came upon the inhabitants of Gaul and Upper Italy through the conquering Franks and Lombards."¹ Religion was spared still less than property. The Protestant ministers were banished. Their flocks fared no better after a brief respite. In 1627, commissioners went through the country, with troops at their backs, offering to the worried and impoverished people choice between return to the Romish Church and exile. Moravia, which made common cause with Bohemia, was treated in like manner. Meanwhile the sword descended upon the Palatinate. The electoral dignity

¹ Anton Gindeley, *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs*, i. 257, Leipzig, 1882.

was taken away from Frederic, and bestowed upon Maximilian of Bavaria. Much of the territory of the Palatinate was also given to Maximilian, and its Protestant inhabitants were subjected to the usual expedients for restoring Roman Catholic ascendancy. From the Palatinate the course of the war was into the Lower Saxon circle, or the districts of Northern Germany. The movements in this quarter brought a new combatant into the lists, since Christian IV. of Denmark felt that the integrity of his own kingdom was being threatened. His active participation in the war was not, however, of long continuance. In 1629, he availed himself of the peace of Lübeck to retire from the struggle.

Thus far the advantage had been decidedly on the side of the Roman Catholic forces. With the exception of the failure to take Stralsund (1628), they had received little check. Two considerations explain their relative success. They dealt with a divided foe. The relations between the Lutherans and the Reformed were far from being cordial. The evangelical princes were slow to unite upon any general policy. Some of them were conspicuously selfish and cautious. In planning and in executing, not one of them was the equal of Maximilian of Bavaria. Moreover, the ablest generals were in the service of the Emperor and the League. Tilly and Wallenstein were both notable commanders, though very widely contrasted. The former is easily classified. He was devout, conscientiously devoted to the will of his superiors, zealous for the interests of the Romish Church, in tactics a general of the old Spanish school. Wallenstein, on the other hand, defies classification. He stands by himself, one of the most singular figures

which has crossed the political or military horizon of Europe. Without the glory of great victories to emblazon his fame, he still produced a profound impression as to his military capacity, and easily found recruits to join his standard whenever it was raised. With Oriental magnificence and enormous regard for his own interests he combined marks of a prudent statesmanship. Far from sharing in the spirit of intolerant propagandism which governed the imperial counsels, he looked upon it with ill-concealed dislike. A strong central government ruling on the basis of religious freedom was regarded by him as the great need of Germany. As to his personal creed, it can only be said that it was a mixture of Romanism, astrology, and egoism. He believed in God, in the Virgin, in the stars, in himself.

Emboldened by the successes of these great captains, Ferdinand II. at length, in March, 1629, ventured on the sweeping measure known as the Edict of Restitution. This was in effect a notification that all bishoprics held immediately of the Empire, which had passed into the possession of the Protestants since the year 1552 must be placed in the hands of Roman Catholic incumbents. Nor was this the whole meaning of the edict. The declaration of Ferdinand I., that the subjects of ecclesiastical rulers should have religious freedom, was left unnoticed. The plain inference therefore was, that hand in hand with the installation of Roman Catholic bishops would proceed the suppression of the opposing religion. The Edict of Restitution meant in fact that a large part of Germany should undergo the fate of Bohemia, being stripped bare by wholesale confis-

cations, and then scourged with whips, cutting into the very conscience and religious life of the people.

The manifesto of the Emperor, though gloried in by the zealots of his party, was far from being a stroke of practical wisdom. While it had its aspect of terror, it had also its aspect of encouragement. Far-seeing opponents readily understood that it was well adapted to call out the latent power of resistance in German Protestantism. For the time being, however, there was too little of union and confidence to summon forth the fitting defiance. The hand that was to grasp the Edict of Restitution and crumple it into a worthless and discarded parchment was the hand of a stronger hero than had been nurtured on German soil in that era.

2. THE PART OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN THE WAR.—From the beginning of the struggle, the Swedish King, Gustavus Adolphus, had been a thoroughly alert spectator. At one time (1624, 1625) he had conferred with James I. of England and Christian IV. of Denmark in behalf of a combined movement against the Emperor and the League. But as those princes were not ready to contribute men and means on such a scale as he deemed necessary to success, he declined all connection with the enterprise. Meanwhile he kept his eye upon the field, and waited for his opportunity. Having secured his own realm by effecting a truce with Poland, and finding himself well supported by the national sentiment, he concluded, when the Edict of Restitution was issued, that the time to strike had come. He embarked depending upon his own resources. Negotiations with France had indeed been commenced, but had not yet been brought to a successful issue.

In the middle of the summer of 1630 Gustavus landed with thirteen thousand men upon an island at the mouth of the Oder. Three motives may be supposed to have urged him forward in this daring enterprise: (1) sympathy with his oppressed co-religionists; (2) a sense of the danger which would threaten his own kingdom, if the political and religious liberties of Northern Germany were extinguished; (3) a desire to secure for his country a more prominent place in European affairs. An unfriendly judgment would lay the chief stress upon the last motive. No doubt Gustavus was ready to secure as much political advantage from his enterprise as might fairly accrue to him; but there is no just cause for denying that he was profoundly moved by religious considerations. The morality and sobriety which he enforced in his army, and the whole bearing of the man, indicate that he possessed in a marked degree the elements of Christian zeal and heroism. He wrought under the impression of a great providential mission, and with a devotion which is well indicated by his words to the Swedish Senate: "I expect you to persevere in this great work, of which you and your children will see the happy issue, such as God, I hope, will accord to your prayers. For myself, I look henceforth for no more tranquillity before entering into eternal felicity."¹

The attributes of a great commander are clearly discernible in Gustavus Adolphus. In a remarkable degree he blended self-restraint with energy and daring. He made important contributions to the art of war, substituting largely skill and rapidity of movement for mere weight and pressure of the mass. The first

¹ John L. Stevens, *History of Gustavus Adolphus*, p. 263.

Napoleon assigned him a place among the eight greatest generals the world has seen. Few leaders have accomplished more, in so brief an interval, than was accomplished by him in his career of little more than two years in Germany. At the outset, however, he had great difficulties to contend with. It was a cold welcome which he received from some of the Protestant princes. Men of such influential and representative position as the Duke of Brandenburg and the Elector of Saxony stood aloof. Not till after the fall of Magdeburg, before the soldiers of Tilly, could these princes be constrained to give up their neutrality, and render any hearty aid to the Swede. Even then they needed to be spurred on, the one by the stern threats of Gustavus, and the other by the spectacle of his own territories being overrun and pillaged, though the fate of Magdeburg by itself might have been sufficiently awakening. Fearful indeed was the ordeal which came upon the ill-fated city. Nothing was sacred to the infuriated soldiers as they rushed through the streets. Womanhood, age, and infancy appealed in vain for mercy. To increase the horror, a conflagration broke out which reduced nearly the whole city to ashes. Tilly himself declared that the downfall of Magdeburg could be likened to nothing else than the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem.

The invasion of Saxony followed close upon the fall of Magdeburg. Tilly established himself at Leipzig. Here he was confronted by the combined army of the Swedes and the Saxons (September, 1631). The result of the ensuing engagement was a complete breaking of the spell of imperial success. On the battle-field of Leipzig,

or Breitenfeld, the generalship of Gustavus and the valor of the Swedes secured a glorious victory. Following up his success with great vigor, Gustavus pressed through Franconia and the Palatinate, capturing many cities for his Protestant allies. Tilly was mortally wounded while attempting to check his advance. Bavaria was invaded, and some of its chief cities passed into the hands of the victorious Swede. The "Snow King" did not melt away so suddenly under the southern sun as had been contemptuously prophesied at Vienna. Meanwhile, the Elector of Saxony invaded Bohemia.

The hard-pressed Imperialists saw now no hope save in restoring the command to Wallenstein. Shortly before the Swedish invasion, the princes of the League, taking offence at his exorbitant demands, and fearing that their own dignity would be abased before a military despotism if he were allowed to carry out his ambitious designs, had forced him to lay down the command. Assured that his star would again be in the ascendant, the proud general had retired to his estates in Bohemia to await the turn of events. The victories of Gustavus had been to him no cause of regret, but rather of rejoicing. He saw in them omens of good for himself. Being at last requested to resume his place at the head of the imperial forces, he put on a show of reluctance. He was determined to make of his restoration a great triumph. He haughtily refused any associate in command, blasphemously declaring, if report may be trusted, that he would not accept God Himself as a colleague. The powers which he claimed were really those of an irresponsible dictator. Nor was he unmindful of terri-

torial aggrandizement. He must have a confirmed title to the duchy of Mecklenburg, or to some equivalent principality. Enormous as were the demands, the Emperor agreed to them.

After the imperial arms had gained some minor successes under the lead of Wallenstein, the opposing forces met in the bloody and hard-fought battle of Lützen (November, 1632). The Swedes were left in possession of the field; but the battle was virtually lost to them in that they lost their heroic commander. Gustavus Adolphus fell in the heat of the conflict.

8. CLOSING STAGES AND EFFECTS OF THE WAR.— Notwithstanding the death of her King, Sweden was resolved to continue the war. But it was soon plain that the master spirit of the conflict was gone. The war progressed through wearisome alternations of fortune. Neither side could now claim generals of such prestige and reputation as had disputed the field during the campaigns of Gustavus. Wallenstein had but a brief career after the battle of Lützen. A growing cloud of suspicion gathered against him, till at length in its thick shadow his deposition was ordained and his assassination effected (February, 1634). He was accused of treasonable designs, and not without grounds. For he was ill-affected toward the policy of the Emperor, and though he may have formed no positive conclusion to enter the field against him, he was in all probability resolved so to do unless he could constrain him to terminate the conflict by a reasonable peace.¹

¹ Compare Ranke, *Geschichte Wallensteins*, pp. 421, 423; Gindeley, *Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs*, iii. 8-13; S. R. Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*, pp. 172-178.

During the further prosecution of the war French influence performed an important part. Of course the interest of France in the struggle was purely political. Richelieu and those who inherited his plans wished to limit the power of Austria and Spain and to acquire new territory for France.

The miseries caused by the protracted struggle were indescribable. No bounds were set to pillage. An evil example was early provided on the Protestant side by the unpaid marauding troops of Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, who undertook to uphold the cause of Frederic in the Palatinate. During the larger part of the conflict no regular governmental pay was afforded to the armies of either party. Even the Swedes, who had seemed at first like men of another world on account of their moderation and continence, yielded in the closing stages of the war to the corrupting example of other combatants. The country was so wasted that multitudes were made to feel the pangs of want, or even of starvation. Some districts were wellnigh depopulated. In a group of nineteen villages in Thuringia four fifths of the people had disappeared. The inhabitants of Augsburg were reduced from eighty thousand to eighteen thousand. The population of Bohemia sank from two millions to seven hundred thousand. Half of the houses in the Bohemian cities were left unoccupied, and half the fields in the country uncultivated. In Germany at large the percentage of waste rose near to this awful maximum. Half of the people and two thirds of the movable goods were swept away. No man's threshold was secure from the shadow of violence or want. We can read the history of scarcely one of the

eminent theologians of the time without discovering that he was burnt out of house and home, perhaps more than once. Naturally, the spoliation reached beyond mere estate to mind and morals. Education was interrupted. Many schools were attenuated into miserable remnants, or even into non-existence. The University of Heidelberg numbered but two students in 1626, and at Helmstedt the faculty was reduced at one time to a single professor.¹ Where there was a better attendance the fruits of scholastic training were largely prevented by the wildness and insubordination of the students, who seemed to have imbibed a genius for barbarity from the example of ill-disciplined and plundering troops. In general, there was a loosening of moral bonds and a depression of national spirit. The extent to which their cause was taken into the hands of strangers tended to rob the German people of that confidence and self-reliance which are essential to national vigor and healthy growth.

4. THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.— Though some of the interested parties may have felt that their claims were not duly regarded, it was with no small satisfaction that the news was received, in October, 1648, that terms of peace had been ratified. These terms were favorable to the Protestants, at least more favorable than any which had previously been accorded. The Reformed were included in the stipulations on an equal footing with the Lutherans. A security was given for the just settlement of disputes, in that the Imperial Court in a case between Protestantism and Romanism was to be composed of an equal number of

¹ Karl Biedermann, *Deutschlands trübste Zeit*, p. 181.

representatives of either side. As respects the disposition of property, the first day of the year 1624 was fixed upon as the deciding date. Whatever of church property was in the hands of Protestants at that time was to be accounted theirs. States which had granted the free use of religion in that year were to grant it still. Other states were not required to grant this privilege, and it was left to the prince to decide whether in them an asylum should be conceded to those of dissenting faith. This left room still for intolerance and despotic caprice, but the age was not ready for a broader policy. In its political aspects the more important features of the treaty were the confirmation of the electoral dignity to the Duke of Bavaria, the erection of the Lower Palatinate into an eighth electorate for the son of the dispossessed Frederic, the cession of Alsace to France, and the transfer of Western Pomerania, together with the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun, to Sweden. In virtue of her acquisitions, Sweden obtained a voice in the German Diet.

The condemnation of the treaty by Innocent X. was an unimportant episode. States which had no scruple about driving Protestants by fire and sword into subjection to the papal headship were as ready as others to treat the papal instructions with blank indifference when they were not acceptable.

At the Peace of Westphalia we reach the close of the first great era in the history of Protestantism. That peace had the force of a definite proclamation that the religious revolution of the sixteenth century was to hold its ground. As ability to maintain itself is one of the

justifications of attempted revolution, it may be said that Europe subscribed here a justification of Protestantism.

Other considerations must of course enter into an adequate justification. These we cannot consider at length, since we are writing history rather than apology. We simply note a few of the cardinal points which cannot be ignored in any fair survey of the subject.

To justify the Reformation it is in no wise necessary to prove that it was free from faults and excrescences. As already remarked, no one but a romancer would look for an unblemished ideal in a work of such profound upheaval and extensive reconstruction. The justification of the Reformation is found in two facts: (1.) It inaugurated an all-important emancipation. A bogus infallibility claiming jurisdiction over belief, conscience, and conduct is an intolerable fraud. If carried out according to the letter of its assumptions, it becomes a dwarfing despotism. If practically discarded, while formally acknowledged, it strikes at the roots of sincerity, and tends to reduce religion to the low rank of fashion and conventionalism. In any case, it is a menace to all the higher interests of mankind. The Reformation must accordingly be credited with an immortal service, in that it loosed so large a portion of Europe from the trammels of Rome's pretended infallibility. (2.) In its work of reconstruction, the Reformation accomplished a beneficent task. It cast out, or greatly reduced, the elements of paganism and priestcraft which vitiated the old system, cleared the way for a direct dependence upon the source of grace, gave back to revelation its right of immediate impact upon the souls

of men, and strongly asserted the most quickening truths of the apostolic teaching.

Service of this sort was so fundamental and invaluable that the freest exposure of defects in the reconstructive work of the Reformation leaves to it still an essential glory. It must be allowed that there was some one-sidedness and inconsistency in theory, and that practice too often followed the worse side of theory. In this way the more central principles and tendencies were in a measure temporarily obscured. No small amount of intolerance, for example, was exhibited on the side of the Reformation. In some cases the Reformation seemed also to add directly to the royal prerogatives, and to increase the despotism of the crown. Such, it can hardly be denied, was the result, to some extent, in Germany. The abolition of papal control gave a wider sweep to princely control, that is, where the princes themselves espoused the Reformation; in Bavaria, Austria, and Bohemia, where the sovereigns were Roman Catholic, the Protestant movement, while it was in force, tended to limit the central power. Theoretically, the great doctrinal leaders of the German Reformation, as has been indicated, were not altogether in favor of this increase of prerogatives in the temporal prince. They would gladly have secured to the reconstructed Church a larger share in the management of its own affairs, had not the undisciplined condition of the people seemed to make the supervision of the civil government a necessity. As it was, the princes ruled to a large extent in the Church as well as in the State. In England, the increase of prerogatives accruing to the crown from the Reformation was, if possible, still more notice-

able. Let all this be granted, and it still remains true that Protestantism is in its nature the friend of freedom, — legitimate freedom of any kind, religious or political. It is logically the friend of religious freedom, since it denies the existence of any infallible human tribunal in matters of religion ; and what but an infallible tribunal is authorized to set up a system of faith to which all men must assent? It is logically, also, the friend of civil freedom, since the enjoyment of religious liberty naturally fosters the spirit in the citizen, the sense of manhood and independence, which will insist upon civil freedom. It lies in the reason of the case, that, as respects well-grounded confidence and self-governing ability, a company of men trained by the free use of the Bible and the exercise of their own faculties must have an advantage over a community treated perpetually as children or minors in their religion, and trained to passive acquiescence in the prescriptions of a hierarchy. And what the logic of the system thus requires, Protestantism in recent times has almost universally asserted and illustrated. It only needed a sufficiently extended opportunity to work out the demonstration that it is the friend both of religious and civil liberty.

The charge of intellectual license, or immoderate free-thinking, which has been urged against Protestantism, has doubtless some foundation in the facts of its early, as also of its later history. In a system of liberty some overstepping of normal bounds is inevitable. But what is the cure? It certainly is not despotism or usurped authority. A double failure follows in the wake of despotism. While it may procure formal assent, it cannot generate real faith. Suppose that what it enforces

is genuine orthodoxy, and not mere superstition. Even then there is no reason for glorying. An enforced orthodoxy is just about on a par with the motions of a dead body enforced by a galvanic battery. Moreover, except under very special conditions, despotic repression tends to provoke reaction to the opposite extreme. The Dragonnade is the natural forerunner of a French Revolution. A discredited claim to infallible authority is fuel for infidelity. Those who wail over the results of intellectual freedom, and ask for the reign of sheer authority, mistake the nature of the human mind. This Samson cannot be bound with their wisp of straw. Protestantism may not have been free from an undue spirit of schism, independence, and insubordination. It may not have been entirely successful in working out that most difficult of all problems, the reconciliation of legitimate freedom with legitimate authority. But it cannot assist the solution of the problem by forsaking its principles. On the contrary, in a wise fidelity to its principles lies the best contribution which it can make to religious order and unity. Freedom and intelligence mutually promoting each other, as it is their nature to do, will lead men toward a healthy and common faith as far as human nature permits.

Second Period.

1648–1720.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES UNDER ROMAN CATHOLIC RULE.

I. — LOUIS XIV. AND HIS COURT.

AN adequate reason for giving France the first place in the order of treatment is found in the central position maintained by that country in European affairs throughout the present period. The long reign of Louis XIV., covering seventy-two years, during fifty-four of which he assumed the more direct control, was the Solomonic era of the French monarchy. It was more brilliant by far than any other reign in the history of the French kingdom, and a parallel can scarcely be found in the history of the kingdoms of Europe. We meet here a whole constellation of names to which a wide and lasting celebrity has been assigned, — names adorning every great department of effort in State and Church and the realm of letters.

It was the era of French nationality. No outside authority exercised any controlling influence. The Papacy was scarcely more than a subservient ally of the government. Orders from Versailles told at Rome for quite as much as orders from Rome at Versailles. A sort of ecclesiastical primacy went along with the political. Prosperity within and prestige abroad con-

spired to raise national pride and ambition to a high point. The confidence of the general body reacted to inspirit the individual; and since the French people, before the repressive measures in the latter part of the reign, enjoyed a larger measure of intellectual freedom than most European nations, the fruits of genius and learning were naturally ripened in unusual abundance.

In some measure by virtue of his own talents, but quite as much by inheritance, Louis XIV. was made the centre of this brilliant era. He received the full benefit of what Richelieu had done for the royal power under his predecessor; and the abortive attempts of anti-royalist factions at the beginning of his reign — the war of the Fronde — only increased his opportunities for absolute rule. His claim to renown lies more in the diligence and tireless ambition with which he improved favoring circumstances, than in the creation of great results out of small means by force of personal genius and energy. It is also a limiting factor in our estimate of Louis, that he exercised no care to husband the resources of his kingdom, and sacrificed to thirst for present display and glory the chances of future prosperity. This imposing and brilliant reign left France exhausted, and harboring within herself the germs of violent revolution.

Louis XIV. was, in theory and in practice, an absolute ruler. His famous saying, "*L'état, c'est moi*," was not designed by him to be taken as a mere hyperbole. More extended utterances show that he regarded himself as by far the greater part of the State, embodying in himself all the sovereignty, and, in the higher sense,

all the property right of the realm. In an instruction to his son we find him declaring, "Everything that is found in the extent of our states, of whatever nature it may be, belongs to us. The moneys which are in our coffers, those which remain in the hands of our treasurers, and those which we leave in the commerce of our people, should be alike managed by us. Kings are absolute lords, and have naturally the full and free disposal of all the goods possessed as well by churchmen as by laymen, to use them at all times according to the general need of their State."

One of the means employed by Louis in his attempt to realize his ideal of a sovereign was the exaltation of court life. He saw no better means of increasing his own pre-eminence than the merging of rival establishments into his own. "He resolved to bring the higher nobility wholly within his grasp, by constraining it, on the one hand, to establish itself at court and surround the King with a permanent retinue, and, on the other, to serve regularly in the army under conditions quite contrary to its habits, prejudices, and pretensions. . . . Louis had no occasion to use compulsion in order to succeed. It sufficed for him to make it clearly understood that all favors, whether useful or honorary, were for those who lived at court and served the King; but this was not the only motive at his disposal; the inexpressible attraction exercised by his court was more powerful than interest itself. When one had once tasted this life so brilliant, so animated, so varied, he could no longer quit it to return to his native manor without dying of languor and ennui; everything seemed cold and dead away from this place of enchantment,

which appeared to town and province as the very ideal of human life.”¹

This ambition for an extensive and splendid court was naturally accompanied by a passion for magnificent building operations. Immense sums were consumed on palaces and pleasure grounds. An unsightly district was transformed into the glory of Versailles, at an expense, it is estimated, of more than four hundred millions of francs at the present rate.

Among the sharers in this courtly magnificence were those whose prominence was their shame and the shame of their sovereign. As if his personal exaltation robbed seduction and adultery of their infamy, the “Very Christian King” unblushingly played the Mohammedan in his domestic policy, or rather by his effrontery eclipsed Mohammedan precedent, in that his harem was open to the eyes of Europe.² Different mistresses were made successively, and in part simultaneously, the rivals of his queen in the honors which were lavished upon them. The husband of the most influential was driven into banishment for no other reason than the desire of the royal paramour to have full liberty for his guilty passion. Not less than ten children were born through this habitual violation of wedlock. These, to the mingled credit and discredit of Louis, were not

¹ Henri Martin, *History of France, Age of Louis XIV.*, i. 139-141, English translation.

² “Le roi, par le sentiment excessif de sa divinité païenne, arrivait à cette conclusion : ‘qu’il était comme monarque au-dessus des lois ordinaires et que dans l’Olympe où les poètes et les artistes l’avaient placé, comme le Jupiter d’Homère, il pouvait se transformer pour ses plaisirs et honorer la terre de ses amours.’” (Capefigue, *Mademoiselle de la Vallière et les Favorites des trois Ages de Louis XIV.*)

merely owned by him as his progeny, but were raised to a position above that of the ordinary nobility, and ranked next to the legitimate princes. The improvement in domestic morals which was exhibited in his later years was probably due less to a quickened conscience than to the sobering effect of years, and the powerful influence of a remarkable woman, Madame de Maintenon, granddaughter of the distinguished Huguenot Agrippa d'Aubigné. Early training in the Protestant faith of persecuted parents, orphanage, conversion to Romanism, a marriage with the poet Scarron, in which station she found a measure of honor and consideration, and an introduction to court, as preceptress of some of the King's children, formed the path by which she came to the attention of Louis. Gradually, and by force of character quite as much as by outward charms, she won the attachment of the monarch. Her position never ceased to be somewhat equivocal in the eyes of the world; but it is the verdict of most historians that her intimate companionship with the King was sanctioned to her conscience by a private marriage.¹ The price of her elevation was an unremitting exertion of her talents to please the exacting autocrat. This rôle she undoubtedly played with marked success. Some have supposed that she exerted much influence upon the administration of the State; but it is certain that she had little ability or courage to turn Louis aside from any declared preference. If she was able to direct important affairs in any noteworthy degree, it must have been by practising with the royal counsellors.

¹ Capéfigue concludes differently, mainly from the lack of any existing documentary reference to the fact.

The mingled light and shade of Louis's unrivalled establishment reached over a much broader area than the suburbs of Paris. While French manners became another name for superior polish and politeness in the different capitals of Europe, not a few princes aped the profligacy quite as much as the splendor of the French monarch.

Closely associated with the court, but far from being a mere attachment to the same, a distinguished group is presented, favorites of the Muses, whom France ever since has deemed worthy of the laurel wreath. For the age of Louis XIV. was the bloom period of her poetry. It was in this respect to France what the Elizabethan age was to England. Leading the train appears the great tragic poet Corneille. His grand distinction lies in the vigorous portrayal of forceful characters and lofty ideals. He was not the equal of Shakespeare in the facile gift of holding the mirror up to nature; he did not possess the same vividness and subtlety of imagination, the same faculty of dealing with all varieties of subjects; but in genius for painting the heroic he stood at a height which has rarely been attained. Molière followed as a master of comedy, commanding appreciation by the strength of his verse, his skilful management of dialogue, the fulness of his wit, and the naturalness of his characters. "Tartuffe" and "The Misanthrope" show how graphically he could portray the passions and the peculiarities of men. Boileau possessed but moderately the creative imagination and the sensibility needed in dramatic poetry. His genius was best suited to the didactic style. In accuracy and propriety of expression he supplied a very

eminent model. Racine joined with the correctness of Boileau an inspiration which gave to his works an impression of life-like reality and warmth. His "Athalie" was pronounced by Voltaire the masterpiece of dramatic writing.¹ The judgment of Hallam is scarcely less favorable than that of the French critic, and he places Racine next to Shakespeare in the list of modern tragedians.² La Fontaine excelled in the lighter and more unstudied species of poetry. In him we find also a sympathy with nature that was quite foreign to the age of Louis XIV.

II. — CHIEF FACTORS IN THE RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

Among the interesting characters which this affluent era affords, it is not unfitting to mention an apostle of practical benevolence. The increased interest in works of charity which animated the monastic orders after the conclusion of the wars of religion, found a leader and organizer in Vincent de Paul. For the first sixty years of the seventeenth century his name was a synonym for untiring philanthropy. Neglected children, the ignorant, the poor, condemned criminals, prisoners of the cell and the galley, all classes of the unfortunate, received from him a sympathy as practical as it was warm and persevering. Consecrated activity he regarded as the essence of religion. The spirit of his life is well expressed in his own words: "The

¹ *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, chap. xxxii., *Œuvres*, tome xxi., édition 1784.

² *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, iv. 265.

genuine mark of love to God is the good and perfect action. It is only our works which accompany us into the other life."¹

A brief reference to the moralists will suffice, their relative eminence not being so striking as that of some other classes among the celebrated representatives of the age. La Rochefoucauld in his "Maxims," or moral aphorisms, exhibits a subtle power of analysis. But unhappily his insight is divorced from sympathy and from faith in human nature. He dissects the seeming virtues of men only to destroy their title to be called virtues, and traces them to the same all-dominating motive of self-love. To be sure, he does not formally deny the existence of real virtue. He explains to his readers that he considers men in their natural state rather than in that to which they may be raised by the special aids of Divine grace.² Nevertheless, his cynical critique tends to make virtue a banished name, and, where it does not divert by its sharpness and ingenuity, chills by the merciless diligence with which it cuts away from man and society every element of esteem. La Bruyère in his "Characters" deals largely in the aphoristic style of La Rochefoucauld. His irony, however, is more sparing. He does not persecute human nature into such abjectness, and relieves his criticism by a larger display of literary art. Neither of these writers made any attempt to cover methodically the whole subject of morals. In the "Ethical Essays" of Nicole, on the other hand, there is a perceptible endeavor after thorough elaboration. But this formal distinction expresses the

¹ Martin, *Histoire de France*, tome xii. p. 67.

² *Avis au Lecteur*, édition 1666.

lesser part of the difference. Nicole, it is true, paints the wretchedness of man with a strong hand, and is hardly more complimentary than La Rochefoucauld; for, while Jansenism does not find in him one of its most austere disciples, his mind is imbued with the Augustinianism of that school. But with Nicole man's moral poverty is only one part of the field of vision. The completing zone, the illuminated region of Divine grace, comes repeatedly into view. The general impression, accordingly, is vastly different from that which is conveyed by the procedure of La Rochefoucauld, who casts human virtues into the crucible only to show that they are dross.

In sacred eloquence the age of Louis XIV. is probably to be ranked as the most illustrious in the annals of the Gallican Church. The Abbot of Clairvaux had in his day, it is true, a marvellous faculty of persuasive address. But what reign beside that of Louis XIV. can name three such masters of the pulpit as Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon, not to mention a fourth in the person of Fléchier?

The tongue of Bossuet was assisted to eloquence by a mind well stored with noble sentiments. While he attacked nothing which was definitely included within the circle of Romish beliefs, he dwelt little among the objects which the compromise with heathenism had offered to a weak and superstitious faith. Saints, relics, and images were for the most part below the plane of his vision. Attracted by the strength and sublimity of the Bible, he moved largely within its circle of thought. He imbibed a Hebraic sense of Divine Providence, and put in strong contrast to the futility of human ambitions

the certainty and might with which God marches forward to the accomplishment of His grand purposes. While he was not willing to take the full creed of the Jansenists, he had only moderate emendations to offer. He was fundamentally averse to Pelagian representations of man's sufficiency in himself, and was deeply convinced that the heir of salvation is, and needs to be, in the grasp of a power mighty and sovereign, though tender and persuasive in its mode of working. To this order of thought and feeling the style of Bossuet was harmoniously adjusted. Two words, strength and majesty, describe its dominant characteristics. His discourse moves forward like the full stream of a great river. Occasionally, it may be, the limit of discretion is a little transcended, and the majestic is carried over into the declamatory. But for the most part the style is wisely guided at a level with the theme and the occasion. The subject matter, like that of successful oratory in general, shows depth enough to satisfy minds fairly thoughtful, while, at the same time, it does not tax the understanding overmuch by abstruse or subtle speculation.

Among the sermons of Bossuet his funeral orations are especially celebrated, — a species of composition cultivated in the age of Louis XIV. as in no other period. As employed by Bossuet, it was a sort of compromise between the pride of the great men of earth and the severity of religion. "It shows religion consenting to display the pomp of human glory, on condition of withering it before the breath of God and opposing to the greatness of a day the greatness that endures forever." Such an order of discourses was naturally made,

in the hands of a master like Bossuet, a vehicle of many profound and impressive thoughts on the relation of the two worlds. Nevertheless, he ran close upon the border of serious dangers. A lengthy and rhetorical portraiture of those esteemed great by the world involves a temptation to gloss over detracting features, — to round out panegyric at the expense of truth.

Bossuet's fame as a pulpit orator began in 1659. For ten years he commanded the admiration of Parisian audiences. After his elevation to the episcopal office — first at Condom and then at Meaux — the great tasks devolved upon him abridged his leisure for sermonic efforts.

Bourdaloue, the successor of Bossuet in the Parisian pulpit, while falling below him in capacity for eloquent and powerful outbursts, was a worthy rival as respects symmetry and uniform excellence. He was less daring, less cogent, less at home in the region of the grand and the sublime; but he was more true to the life in his portraiture of manners and his analysis of human passions, more in sympathy with the common people and with ordinary experiences, more politic in the deferential tone with which he addressed the reason of his hearers. His sermons appear at full advantage to the reader, while a large proportion of those of Bossuet depended much for their effect upon their delivery. In character, Bourdaloue was sincere and straightforward, a man whom all praise, whether friends or foes of the Order of Jesuits to which he belonged.

Massillon, the third member in the triumvirate of the French pulpit, made his appearance in Paris in 1696. His great talent at once caused him to be regarded as

the peer of Bourdaloue. If less thoughtful than the Jesuit orator, he surpassed him in pathos, tenderness, and grace. His greatest efforts wrought with magic power upon his audiences. It is recounted of his sermon on the small number of the elect, that, during the peroration, the whole assembly, impelled by a common and overmastering impulse, rose to their feet.

The place of Bourdaloue and Massillon in history is sufficiently expressed when they have been characterized as pulpit orators. With Bossuet the case is very different. In him the Oriental faculty of speech was joined with the Roman aptitude for rule. One of the strongest personalities which the French Church has produced, he exercised a commanding influence in various directions.¹ His inborn tendency to leadership was usually joined with a fair degree of moderation; it cannot be denied, however, that in one and another instance it passed over into a species of intolerance and dictatorship.

The principles of Gallicanism as opposed to Ultramontanism found in Bossuet their most stalwart champion. The papal claim to absolute monarchy he regarded as a usurpation standing in glaring contra-

¹ Probably no representative of the Gallican Church has approached nearer to the ideal which is pictured in the following eulogy by Massillon: "The possessor of a vast and happy genius; endowed with the candor which always characterizes grand souls and spirits of the first rank; the ornament of the episcopate, from whom the clergy of France will derive honor in all coming centuries; a bishop in the midst of the court; a man of all talents and all sciences; the teacher of all the churches; the terror of all the sects; the father of the seventeenth century, who only needed to have been born in the primitive times to have been the light of councils, the soul of patristic assemblies, the dictator of canons, the president at Nicæa and Ephesus." (*Oraison Funèbre de Louis, Dauphin*)

diction with the history of the Church for its first thousand years. In like manner, he esteemed the boasted infallibility of the Pope a baseless fiction. He allowed, indeed, that indefectibility belongs to the chair of Peter, in the sense that heresy cannot find there any continuous and stubborn support. But this, he maintained, in no wise precludes the temporary aberration of an individual pontiff, or the competency of the universal Church to administer correction to a pontiff. Such principles had been at home in France ever since the era of the great reform councils of the fifteenth century. They were naturally favored by the strong feeling of nationality which dominated the French people in the reign of Louis XIV. The Sorbonne took pains to proclaim them in 1663 and 1675; but the most noted era of Gallicanism was the year 1682, when the Four Articles formulating the opposition of France to high papal claims were subscribed by an assembly of the clergy, and confirmed by the civil authorities. These articles were drawn up by Bossuet, who was the leading spirit in the assembly. They contained in substance the following specifications: (1) The Pope's authority, as also that of the Church in general, is confined to things spiritual. He has no prerogative to depose kings and princes, or to release their subjects from oaths of fidelity. (2) The decrees promulgated at Constance respecting the authority of ecumenical councils subsist in full force and virtue. (3) In the use of his power, the Pope must respect the ecclesiastical canons, and also such constitutions as are received in the kingdom and Church of France. (4) While the Pope has a principal voice in matters of faith, his judgment is sub-

ject to amendment, until it has been approved by the Church.¹

The assembly which promulgated these articles provoked the disgust of the Pope still further by siding with the King in the matter of the *régale*, that is, the asserted right of the crown to the revenue and the patronage connected with vacant sees. This right had long been exercised over a large part of the realm. Louis insisted upon extending it to all the provinces. Most of the bishops acquiesced, but two protested. The Pope heartily espoused the cause of the appellants. The limitations which the assembly had thought fit to impose upon his prerogatives in general probably inclined him to be less yielding on the special point in dispute. He pronounced the decision on the *régale* null and void, and refused bulls of confirmation to those members of the assembly of 1682 whom the King nominated to episcopal sees. Affairs remained in this unsettled condition for a considerable interval. In the final settlement (1693), the action of the government, while not annulling the Four Articles, qualified their force as national maxims. The Pope also gained advantage from the bitter partisan conflicts within the Gallican Church in the closing years of Louis XIV. But these backward steps from the platform of 1682 were not accompanied in the convictions of Bossuet by any retreat from the principles then enunciated. One of the most elaborate and best reasoned of his works, one which he diligently perfected in his closing years, was devoted to a defence of the teachings laid down in the Four Arti-

¹ The full text of the Four Articles may be seen in Bausset, *Histoire de Bossuet*, liv. vi. § 14.

cles.¹ In this line of effort he was seconded to a considerable extent by the distinguished church historians of the era, Natalis Alexander, Fleury, and Tillemont.

¹ "Defensio Declarationis Conventus Cleri Gallicani Anni MDCLXXXII."

Space may properly be given to a few of the noteworthy points in this treatise, Bossuet emphatically reprobates the discreditable shuffling which has been indulged over the case of Honorius I: "Incredibile dictu est, de decretis apostolicis quantos ludos faciant, dum eos aut ex cathedrâ aut non ex cathedrâ prolata esse definiunt. . . . Quando igitur ex cathedrâ pronuntiatum fuit, nisi cum à toto Oriente consultum Petri successorem confirmare fratres et teterimum errorem compescere oportebat?" (Prævia Dissertatio, liv.)

Having shown from a comparison of sessions iv. and v. of the Council of Constance that the asserted superiority of an ecumenical council was meant to have a general application, Bossuet thus sets forth the grounds for the conclusion that this decision received the consent of Martin V., and also that of Eugenius IV., as later it was repeated by the Council of Basle: "Stat concilii certa confirmatio, ipsâ executione, ipsa consensione, imò ipsâ Papæ præsentia; valerentque ea quaecunque *conciliariter* gesta essent, tametsi Poloni nihil rogassent, ac Martinus non eam vocem edidisset. Ne quis tamen scrupulum superesse possit, addimus decreta ea sessionum iv. et v. de quibus agimus, et ad fidem pertinere, et *conciliariter* facta esse. Ad fidem quidem pertinent, quæ pertinent ad interpretationem divini juris, et ad traditam immediatè à Christo Petri successoribus, atque episcopis in concilio generali sedentibus, potestatem; neque Bellarminus aut alii diffidentur. Quòd autem *conciliariter* facta sint, constat, cum in publicâ sessione, imò in duabus publicis sessionibus, prolata sint, ut vidimus. Bellarminus ludit, *conciliariter* factum dici quod more conciliorum, maturâ deliberatione factum esset; quasi Martinus V. Constantiensis concilii primis sessionibus, quarum ipse pars fuerat, indigentiam exprobare vellet. Alii vanum commentum aspernati, conciliariter gestum dicunt, adunatis obedientiis gestum; neque aliud quidquam à Martino probatum. Quasi verò in Viclefum et Hussum et in Joannem Parvum gesta reproberentur, quæ ante adunatas obedientias gesta sunt. Sed profectò nos ludunt: Martinus enim *conciliariter* gesta memorabat, vulgari et populari sensu. . . . Eugenius noverat è sessionibus ii., iii., xii. Basiliensibus, ante et post dissolutionem, Constantiensia decreta sessionis v. repetita et constabilita esse, ut quæ vera certaque concilii ubique approbati decreta essent: atqui concilio Basiliensi ita prædicanti ac decernenti adhaeret, et legitime continu-

Bossuet in his own day was a famous apologist. In his "History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches," and also in other treatises, he made out what was considered a very strong defence of the Roman Catholic faith. But the glory of Bossuet as an apologist has suffered a great eclipse. Historical criticism and historical fact are now arrayed against his fundamental propositions. The uniformity of belief which he predicated, and which he made a mark of the true Church, was a fiction of the imagination, made plausible only by overlooking the fact, that under a strong government, a despotic hierarchy, change is likely to proceed by slow accretion, rather than by the rapid strides which are possible under a system of liberty, where individuality has full play. Moreover, in defending his notion of uniformity, Bossuet undermined his whole argument by maintaining, as of decisive consequence, a specific historical assumption which is clearly untenable. This appeared in his animadversions upon Richard Simon's statements respecting the innovating character of Augustine's predestinarianism. Agreeing with Simon in the conclusion that the Latin Church received Augustine as a teacher of paramount authority, Bossuet declared that to call Augustine an innovator in the doctrines of grace, including predestination, was to destroy tradition and break down all church authority.¹ What was this but giving

atum esse confirmat: ergo Constantiensia decreta valere intellexit, valere voluit, nedum suspecta, aut infirma, aut revocanda putaret." (Lib. v., cap. xxviii., xxix.; lib. vi. cap. ii.)

¹ "On soit donc bien qu'il ne s'agit pas de Saint Augustin seulement ou de sa doctrine, mais encore de l'autorité et de la doctrine de l'Église, puisque s'il a été permis à Saint Augustin de la changer dans une matière

away his cause? Bossuet's attempt to show that Augustine introduced no novelty, in teaching unconditional predestination, is signally feeble. Unbiased scholarship pronounces to-day, with entire assurance, that this doctrine never had place in the theology of the Greek Church, and was also foreign to that of the Latin Church before the Bishop of Hippo gave it his powerful sanction. While thus discredited by historical criticism, the apologetic work of Bossuet has been undermined by the progress of events. As was indicated in the preceding paragraph, he devoted the best resources of his scholarship and the best powers of his mind, for years, to the task of proving that in all the preceding centuries the Church had taken ground inconsistent with the absolute monarchy and infallibility of the Popes. What then, from his standpoint, must be said of the decrees of the Vatican Council, except that they constitute a stupendous *variation*, before which the high claims of tradition and church authority pass away as lying vanities? In fine, Bossuet's vaunted defence of the Romish faith is thoroughly wrecked, his own premises being witnesses. Protestantism has no cause to entertain a grudge against the great athlete.¹

capitale, et que pendant qu'il la changeoit, les papes et tout l'Occident lui aient applaudi, il n'y a plus d'autorité, il n'y a plus de doctrine fixe; il faut tolérer tous les errans, et ouvrir la porte de l'Église à tous les novateurs." (Défense de la Tradition, liv. i. chap. vi. Compare Instructions sur la Version du Nouveau Testament.)

¹ Among the French Protestants who replied to Bossuet, a conspicuous place was held by Claude, Jurieu, and Basnage. The asperity of Jurieu earned him an evil reputation, although he was a writer of no mean scholarship or ability. Claude, on the other hand, secured much esteem by his exemplary temper. Cardinal Bausset awards him a high encomium (Histoire de Bossuet, liv. v. § 4).

The efforts of Bossuet to drive out the lax casuistry of the age deserve a passing mention. It had been his intention to commit the assembly of 1682 to an explicit condemnation of probabilism and the related doctrines; but the act of the King in dissolving the assembly had forestalled his purpose. He did not forsake his design, however, and in the assembly of 1700 had the satisfaction of seeing it accomplished.

While Bossuet was the most powerful and commanding among the churchmen of the age of Louis XIV., he has claimed from subsequent generations only a divided attention. Fénelon has rivalled him in the degree in which he has engrossed their thought, and far surpassed him in the measure in which he has won their love.

Fénelon was for a time closely connected with the court as the educator of the King's grandson, the Duke of Burgundy. After 1695, he held the episcopal see of Cambray. As being a younger man than Bossuet, Fénelon at first reckoned himself in some sort as his disciple. But their minds were very diverse. In fact, they had little in common, except that both were men of conscience and devotion. Their educational methods were different. Bossuet, to whom the tuition of the Dauphin was intrusted, would prepare the scion of royalty for the sceptre by imbuing him with a becoming sense of the dignity of royalty. Fénelon would reach the same end by filling the mind of the prospective ruler with the sentiment that the true sovereign is the servant of the people, enthroned for their sakes, and not for his own pleasure. Bossuet was not unfriendly to that type of absolute rule which was illustrated by

Louis XIV. The political ideal of Fénelon included marked limitations of the royal prerogative. The older theologian conceded to the State no inconsiderable right of supervision over the domain of the Church; the younger, inclining somewhat to Ultramontaniam, preferred in this range to exalt the Pope rather than the King. In Bossuet's conception of religion, law held a prominent place; his moral code was austere; he emphasized greatly the demands of external order. Fénelon was altogether a prophet of the New Dispensation. Possessing a temper more Hellenic than Hebraic, disposed to see things chiefly in their amiable aspect, he contemplated religion under the guise of privilege, and regarded it as a pathway to the heart of God, where all selfishness is consumed and all desire is satisfied in the radiance and blessedness of a holy love. In a word, Fénelon was by impulse and conviction a mystic. As such, he naturally gave a wider sweep to the subjective side of religion than Bossuet's order of thought allowed.

Under ordinary circumstances, such a type of mysticism as was represented by Fénelon would probably have caused him no difficulty. But the recent condemnation in Italy of the mystical quietism of Molinos and his followers had aroused jealousy against the mystical school. The theological mind was in a suspicious mood, when it was found that an apostle of quietism was winning disciples in the heart of France. This was Madame Guyon, whose record makes such an enigma in religious history. One scarcely knows how to judge this aspiring representative of mystical devotion. On the one side, there is an appearance of

unbridled extravagance. Not only did Madame Guyon teach that there is an exalted state, an abiding condition, in which the soul, absorbed in God, loses all self-motion and finds in Him the spring of its activity, but she explicitly and repeatedly claimed for herself the realization of this state. Moreover, she affirmed that she possessed the faculty of discerning spirits, so as to be apprised with unerring certainty of the spiritual state of those to whom her attention was directed. She believed also that she spoke often by the direct inspiration of God, and claimed that whole volumes were written by her under an overmastering and guiding impulse from above. A sufficient list of assumptions, surely, for a prophetess of the seventeenth century ! But, on the other hand, there is such an outbreathing of lofty thoughts and feelings in the utterances of Madame Guyon, such devotion was exhibited by her, such meekness and gentleness through a long train of persecutions, that one cannot find it in his heart to accuse her of spiritual pride, or to doubt the habitual flight of her soul toward the inner circle of divine fellowship. She was sincere. The trouble was a too confident interpretation of her experiences, and a too ready proclamation of that interpretation,—a lack of the reserve which put a seal upon the lips of a Paul.

Madame Guyon had already experienced opposition, and suffered a brief term of imprisonment, when the attention of Bossuet was called to her case. This high-minded but imperious prelate, after some show of moderation, resolved upon a thorough suppression of the distinguished mystic and her doctrines. As an offset to her teachings, he prepared his "Instruction on the

States of Orison." The tone of this treatise was decidedly disparaging to Madame Guyon, nor did the attack stop with criticism. The prison became her abode, until at length she was allowed to go forth under the restriction that she should lead a life of seclusion.

The censure visited upon Madame Guyon was but the prelude to an attack upon Fénelon. The Bishop of Meaux suspected that he was not duly orthodox in relation to mysticism, though he had subscribed a list of articles on the subject, after some changes, which he suggested, had been introduced (1695). Bossuet surmised also that he had a more friendly feeling toward Madame Guyon than was fitting. Herein he was not wholly mistaken, if his own views are allowed to be the standard. Fénelon, it is true, did not coincide with Madame Guyon in all respects. He took no account of her visions, or other extraordinary exercises. But, judging her rather according to the spirit which he found in her than according to the letter of her own testimonies, he believed her to be a woman of deep piety, and far from deserving the prison. His inward dissatisfaction with the prosecution at length found open manifestation. Rejecting the demand of Bossuet that he should subscribe to his "Instruction on the States of Orison," he published, on his own side, a defence or exposition of mysticism, entitled, "Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints on the Internal Life." The teaching of this treatise was no more extreme than is necessarily implied in the inculcation of the principle of *disinterested love*, — a love of God entirely for His own sake, — a supreme affection

which casts out fear, and with it all solicitude for self. Fénelon did not deny the worth of a love which leaves some regard for self, provided the pleasure and the glory of God are the dominant interest. He taught also that the purely disinterested love is rarely attained so as to become habitual, and even then may be subject to interruptions. But it was enough that he had committed himself at all in favor of a disinterested love. His book was decried as eliminating hope, and thus blotting out one of the three theological virtues. Bossuet, sustained by the court, brought every means into requisition to humble the mystic and to condemn his teaching. As Fénelon appealed to the Pope (1697), an abundant pressure was brought to bear on the mind of the pontiff, culminating at last in the scandalous expedient of a downright threat from the French monarch, that the consequences would be far from agreeable to his Holiness if the desired decision was not rendered. Happily for Innocent XII., a condemnatory sentence had already been issued against Fénelon's book (1699), before the royal fiat had a chance to prove its virtue. The adverse sentence was received by the author with humility and submission.

No doubt the principle of disinterested love, as set forth by Fénelon, is somewhat strained, and a soul needs to be well balanced that attempts to soar to that transcendent height. Still it is a chilling reflection, that the authority which condemned this speculation of a most loving and devout spirit has virtually sanctioned such frigid and unchristian discourse on the love of God as is found in the books of casuistry. The only saving consideration is, that the condemna-

tion of the "Maxims" was expressed in moderate terms, — that is, for the Roman vocabulary, — and that the Pope, if report may be trusted, rendered, in the course of the controversy, the very complimentary judgment, that Fénelon had erred from excess of love to God, whereas his antagonist had transgressed from lack of love to his neighbor.¹

Apart from the merits of the censured treatise, Fénelon appears as one of the most engaging among the mystical writers. He rises almost uniformly into the region of catholic thought and feeling, and presents a type of piety which may find a home wherever earnest religion is welcome. Hierarchy, sacraments, and penances are left so far in the background, that they scarcely at all obstruct the view. The ever recurring thought is that of entire abandon to God, a giving up of self so complete that even the reflex action of the surrender upon the emotional states of the subject passes out of consideration. Now and then a sentence inculcating this thought may seem to be too strongly worded. But it should be remembered that the mystical dialect, from the days of Paul and John to the present, has included expressions which were not meant for the mere logician.

The same fertile age which contributed a prince of the mystics furnished a pioneer of Biblical criticism. With an independence that was startling to the champions of tradition, Richard Simon applied his broad

¹ "Erravit Camarensis excessu amoris Dei : peccavit Meldensis defectu amoris proximi." (Bausset, *Histoire de Fénelon*, liv. iii. § 67.) Griveau is disposed to question the authority for attributing this sentence to the Pope. (*Étude sur la Condamnation du Livre des Maximes des Saints*, tome ii. p. 193.)

learning and acute understanding to the investigation of the books of Scripture. The first notable product of his study appeared in 1678, and was entitled a "Critical History of the Old Testament." In this work Simon made no attack upon the authority of the Bible. He allowed the inspiration of the various books. Aside from a rather emphatic view respecting the uncertainties of the text, the weight of his criticism fell upon traditional opinions about authorship. While he could not persuade himself that Moses wrote the whole of the Pentateuch, and found traces of a plural authorship in some other books, he allowed that the scribes had been divinely directed in the additions which they made to the primitive memorials. But his professed intent to conserve the authority of Scripture was an ineffectual shield. The "eagle of Meaux" was too sharp-eyed a watchman to overlook his adventurous opinions, and with characteristic decision appealed to the secular arm for the suppression of the offending book. Subsequent works of the industrious critic on the history of the text, the versions, and the commentators of the New Testament were scarcely more agreeable to Bossuet. He complained bitterly of the liberties which he took with renderings and opinions sanctified by long use, and reckoned it a special mark of a lawless mind that he allowed himself to be indebted, for various suggestions, to such heretics as Grotius and the Socinian exegetes.

Criticism of a more general and miscellaneous cast found an exponent in Peter Bayle, whose name is naturally suggested in this connection, though it lies beyond the limits which are here assigned to the Gallican Church. A Protestant by early education, like

Gibbon and Tindal converted temporarily to Romanism, he soon returned to Protestantism, taught in the Huguenot seminary of Sedan, and, on the extinction of this school by the decree of Louis XIV., found an asylum in Holland, where he was occupied mainly with the tasks of the author. He has been termed by some the later Montaigne. He certainly resembled the sprightly essayist in the free and independent way in which he descanted on various topics; he was, however, while possessing more logical force, less polished in style. His great work was the "*Historical and Critical Dictionary*" (1696). Martin has characterized it as "a learned chaos, threaded by innumerable flashes which render the darkness still blacker, an arsenal of doubt, in which are mingled all the truths and all the errors which have been current among mankind."¹

The champion of no system and of no party, Bayle was both friend and foe of all things and all men. He wished to see nowhere a monopoly of praise or blame. He could say good words for Turks and Manichæans, and even had the hardihood to maintain that an atheist might be an honest man. The unbelievers of the next century found abundant weapons in his writings, but the same treasury was open to their opponents, and might have served them nearly as well. He was the incarnated spirit of contradiction. He contradicted, however, without excess of bitterness, and with a higher design than mere personal diversion. The events of his age and his own experience had inspired him with a horror of an intolerant bigotry; and he designed to

¹ Martin, *History of France, Age of Louis XIV.*, ii. 284.

further the interests of tolerance by showing how much uncertainty attaches to human beliefs.¹

Alongside the groups already depicted there is another, which is as well entitled as any of those named to fill the attention ; for it played a conspicuous part in the ecclesiastical drama which was enacted under Louis XIV., and left an imperishable legacy, not only to the Gallican Church, but to the religious world at large. Judged very diversely in its own day, it is still the subject of widely contrasted estimates. Recent writings show how powerfully the name of *Jansenists* incites either to eulogy or to invective, according to the sympathies of the reviewer.

Jansenism may be defined with reference to a number of aspects. Viewed on its negative side, it was anti-Jesuitism. Viewed on its positive and dogmatic side, it was a revival of the Augustinian doctrines of grace. As respects church polity, it sided with Gallican liberties, and was at the same time somewhat jealous of state control. As respects morals and life, it was the advocate of rigid self-discipline, the foe of luxury, the reprover of the theatre and of all doubtful pleasures. In point of ability and culture, it furnished some of the best minds of France, and produced some of the best models of literary excellence that came from the fruitful age of Louis XIV. While it was conscious of no disloyalty to Romanism, it had its points of affinity with

¹ Lenient, in his discriminating critique on Bayle, credits him with continuous fidelity to certain truths of religion. "The existence of God and of His providence, the immortality of the soul, and the future life, are facts which he admits *a priori*." (*Étude sur Bayle*, p. 62.)

Protestantism. The views of the Jansenists upon human inability and Divine sovereignty were by no means remote from those taught in the school of Calvin. In their opposition to a merely formal righteousness, in their advocacy of inner preparation in order to receive benefits from the sacraments, and in their stress upon the reading of the Scriptures, they stood near to Protestants in general. But they were themselves totally averse to acknowledging any sympathy or kinship with those who had broken the bonds of ecclesiastical unity. No pens were more industrious than theirs in attempts to undermine the foundation of Protestantism, and to discredit its doctrinal system. Their lips were as void of protests against the Dragonnades as were those of other parties in the Gallican Church. In truth, they hated Protestantism none the less because of their manifest approach to some of its principles. The very fact of such approach was productive of a species of animosity, inasmuch as it exposed them to a galling criticism.

The Jansenists found sympathy in a much wider circle than that which had any regard for their Augustinianism. Some favored them as able combatants against Jesuitism and Ultramontaniam. Others were doubtless moved to favorable consideration by indications that they were not quite so ready as the majority to surrender everything to the absolute sovereignty of the King. This temper recommended them to many of the Parliamentarians. To the King it was, of course, the reverse of a recommendation. A supreme egotist, he could tolerate none who did not come before him with full censers. The intractable conscientiousness

of the Jansenists inspired him with a deep and lasting dislike.

In looking for the origin of the party we need to carry back our review to the year 1588, when a Spanish Jesuit by the name of Louis Molina published a treatise on "The Concord of the Free Will with the Gifts of Grace." Views were expressed therein which were quite out of accord with Augustine and Aquinas. The Dominicans were forthwith ready with a charge of semi-Pelagianism. The Pope was urged to condemn the obnoxious teachings, but responded with a policy of delay and indecision. After the dispute had raged for some time, two young men, Cornelius Jansenius and Jean Duvergier (commonly called Saint Cyran), were incited to inquire into its merits. Their investigation led them to a very positive conviction that the Molinists were in the wrong. In the course of their researches a strong admiration was awakened in their minds for Augustine. The partiality of Jansenius for that theologian found expression in his "*Augustinus*," a work to which he devoted many years. This was published in 1640, two years after the death of the author, who had been teaching at Louvain for a considerable period. The *Augustinus* was very odious to the Jesuits, as containing an emphatic reflection on the doctrines which they had harbored, and which a part at least of their society had earnestly championed. At their instigation, Urban VIII. condemned the work. Of more note in the controversy was the act of Innocent X., about eleven years later (1653), in condemning five propositions extracted, or pretended to have been extracted, from the work of Jansenius. These propositions were substan-

tially as follows: (1) There are Divine precepts, for keeping which righteous men, though they may be willing and desirous to fulfil them, have not in the present the requisite ability or grace. (2) No one resists interior grace in the state of corrupt nature. (3) For merit or demerit in the fallen state, freedom from necessity is not required, but only freedom from constraint. (4) The semi-Pelagian heresy consisted in allowing grace to be such that the human will can resist it or comply with its influence. (5) To say that Christ died or shed His blood for all men is to utter a semi-Pelagian error.

The Jansenists denied that the five propositions in the sense imputed were to be found in the work of Jansenius, and refused to regard the bull of Innocent as a condemnation of themselves, inasmuch as that bull was founded on an error with regard to facts. But Alexander VII., the Pope who succeeded Innocent, was very favorable to the Jesuits, and declared that the Five Propositions were taken from the book of Jansenius, and had been condemned in the sense of that author. In these straits, the Jansenists had no means of vindicating their cause save in the denial that the Pope is infallible in questions of fact. This certainly was not a violent supposition, and ought not to have been specially obnoxious to any party. It accorded with the teachings of the Gallicans, and the Ultramontanists could not well challenge it in the face of the notorious truth that various Popes had anathematized Honorius I. as an inculcator and patron of heresy. Still, the shifting of the controversy was not without a serious disadvantage to the Jansenists. To contend over the

question whether a book contained certain propositions was not an inspiring task.¹

Before the condemnatory sentence had been received from Rome, persecution had commenced against the Jansenists. Their leader, Saint Cyran, fell under the displeasure of Richelieu, and was cast into prison as early as 1638. After the death of the despotic minister, he recovered his liberty, but was granted only a few months for its enjoyment before being ushered into a larger freedom (1643). The spirit of Saint Cyran had made, however, its indelible impress. He had a peculiar faculty of inspiring his associates with an austere enthusiasm. His unmerited sufferings only served to enlarge his influence. Through Angelique Arnauld, Abbess of Port Royal, his teachings and inflexible spirit obtained in that convent a sort of stronghold. A number of talented men also continued to cherish the decided impulse which they had received from him. In the neighborhood of Port Royal de Champs, about six leagues from Paris, they formed themselves into a religious and literary association. Among those who

¹ As to the merits of the question of fact, this much may be said. Since the work of Jansenius was an elaborate compound of history and speculation, there was room for a conscientious difference of opinion as to whether its teaching coincided with the Five Propositions, or with the sense attached to those propositions in the papal censures. It would be rash to charge the Jansenists with dishonesty in their denial. On the other hand, it must be allowed that the opposing party had ostensible ground for their allegation. The first of the condemned propositions appears almost word for word in the Augustinus (tom. iii. lib. iii. cap. 13). The remainder, so far as we have been able to discover, are not contained there in the exact form in which they are stated. However, representations are given which seem to imply an equivalent sense (tom. i lib. viii. cap. 3, 7; tom. ii. lib. iv. cap. 25; tom. iii. lib. ii. cap. 5, 25; tom. iii. lib. iii. cap. 1, 20; tom. iii. lib. vi. cap. 5, 6).

sojourned for a time at this celebrated seat, we find the names of Antoine Arnauld, brother of the Abbess, Nicole, Lemaitre, De Sacy, Fontaine, and Pascal. We may also add the names of Racine and Tillemont, who obtained in this retreat an important share of their education. Without subjecting themselves to regular monastic vows, the brethren lived a kind of monastic life in the neighborhood of the convent.

Meanwhile it became manifest that the enemies of the Jansenists had no design of contenting themselves with the simple condemnation of abstract propositions. In 1655 a nobleman was refused absolution because of friendly relations with the Port Royalists. As this called forth a spirited dissertation from Antoine Arnauld, who was henceforth a leading mind among the Jansenists, he was arraigned before the Sorbonne. His defence proved unavailing, and it seemed as though the Jesuits, who formed the main phalanx of the assailants, would carry matters with a high hand. But at this juncture a stroke fell upon them which brought confusion into their ranks. That stroke came from the hand of Blaise Pascal, and the instrument by which it was effected was the "Provincial Letters" (1656-57).

Pascal, a man in whom a genius for the exact sciences, literary talent, and a passionate religious devotion held equal place, had given marked demonstration of the first while yet he had scarcely reached the years of manhood. At the time that he set his hand to the Provincial Letters he was about thirty-three years of age. Religion was then the all-absorbing aim of his spirit. It was this which had led him shortly before to the Port Royal community.

In opening the Provincial Letters we are introduced to one of the most unique memorials of creative genius. No work of the modern era more forcibly reminds of the elasticity, strength, and fertility of mind which have immortalized the Platonic Dialogues. If the oft-repeated verdict of French critics can be accepted, no nearer approach, as respects language and style, to the ideal of French prose has ever been made. Thus Perrault says: "There is more wit in these eighteen letters than in Plato's Dialogues; more delicate and artful raillery than in those of Lucian; and more strength and ingenuity of reasoning than in the orations of Cicero. We have nothing more beautiful in this species of writing."¹ Voltaire remarks: "The first work of genius that appeared in prose was the Provincial Letters. Herein may be found every species of eloquence. Though a hundred years have passed since its publication, not a single word in it has undergone the change to which all living languages are liable. . . . The best comedies of Molière have not more wit in them than the first letters; Bossuet has nothing more sublime than the last ones."²

In these letters, Pascal assumes to give to a friend in the Provinces an account of the disputes of the day. The dialogue is much employed, especially in the first letters; assumed conversations are reported; the Jesuits are made to testify at length respecting their principles, and to bring forward extract after extract from

¹ Quoted by M'Crie, Introduction to Translation of the Provincial Letters. It is from this spirited translation that the citations which follow have been taken.

² Siècle de Louis XIV., chap. xxxii., xxxvii.

the writings of their most noted casuists. For example, from Sanchez the following is quoted: "It is perfectly reasonable to hold that a man may fight a duel to save his life, his honor, or any considerable portion of his property, when it is apparent that there is a design to deprive him of these unjustly, by lawsuits and chicanery, and when there is no other way of preserving them. Navarre justly observes, that in such cases it is lawful either to accept or to send a challenge. The same author adds, that there is nothing to prevent one from despatching one's adversary in a private way. Indeed, in the circumstances referred to, it is advisable to avoid employing the method of the duel, if it is possible to settle the affair by privately killing our enemy." Again, Molina is quoted: "Judges may receive presents from parties when they are given them either for friendship's sake, or in gratitude for some former act of justice, or to induce them to give justice in future, or to oblige them to pay particular attention to their case, or to engage them to despatch it promptly." From Father Bauny is derived this luminous idea of justice: "A person asks a soldier to beat his neighbor, or to set fire to the barn of a man who has injured him. The question is, whether, in the absence of the soldier, the person who employed him to commit these outrages is bound to make reparation out of his own pocket for the damage that has followed. My opinion is that he is not. For none can be held bound to restitution, where there has been no violation of justice; and is justice violated by asking another to do us a favor?" The same writer also offers us a very liberal precept about falling in the way of temptation: "Any one

may frequent profligate houses with the view of converting their unfortunate inmates, though the probability should be that he fall into sin, having often experienced that he has yielded to their fascinations. Some doctors do not approve of this opinion; yet I decidedly embrace the opinion which they controvert." Testimony is again taken from Sanchez, who teaches that a sorcerer who makes money by recourse simply to astrology and like means, ought to restore the money. But one who employs diabolical arts, and thus puts himself to great trouble, ought not to be required to make restitution. The same author is also quoted on the doctrine of intention: "A man may swear that he never did such a thing (though he actually did it), meaning within himself that he did not do so on a certain day, or before he was born, or understanding any other such circumstance, while the words which he employs have no such sense as would discover his meaning. And that is very convenient in many cases, and quite innocent, when necessary or conducive to one's health, honor, or advantage."

A number of writers are cited on the question, When is one obliged to have an actual affection for God? "Suarez says, it is enough if one loves Him before being at the point of death, without determining the exact time. Vasquez, that it is sufficient even at the very point of death. Others, when one has received baptism. Others, again, when one is bound to exercise contrition. And others, on festival days. But our Father Castro Palao combats all these opinions, and with good reason. Hurtado de Mendoza insists that we are obliged to love God once a year; and that we

ought to regard it as a great favor that we are not bound to do it oftener. But our Father Coninck thinks that we are bound to it only once in three or four years; Henriquez, once in five years; and Filiutius says that it is probable that we are not strictly bound to it even once in five years. Father Pinterau says, It was reasonable that, under the law of grace in the New Testament, God should relieve us from that troublesome and arduous obligation which existed under the law of bondage, to exercise an act of perfect contrition, in order to be justified; and that the place of this should be supplied by the sacraments, instituted in aid of an easier disposition. Otherwise, indeed, Christians, who are the children, would have no greater facility in gaining the good graces of their Father than the Jews, who were the slaves, had in obtaining the mercy of their Lord and Master." Here the wrath of Pascal overcomes his reserve, as well it might, and breaks forth in the exclamation: "This is the very climax of impiety. The price of the blood of Jesus Christ paid to obtain us a dispensation from loving Him! Before the incarnation, it seems, men were obliged to love God; but since 'God had so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son,' the world redeemed by Him is released from loving Him! Strange divinity of our days, — to dare to take off the 'anathema' which St. Paul denounces on those 'that love not the Lord Jesus'! To cancel the sentence of St. John, 'He that loveth not abideth in death'! and that of Jesus Christ Himself, 'He that loveth me not keepeth not my precepts'!"

Pascal made out the case against the Jesuits with

overwhelming evidence. The correctness and fairness of his citations have, indeed, been brought into question. But exceptions can properly be taken to only a few details. Any candid investigator who has looked into the old books of casuistry cannot fail to be impressed with the conspicuous fidelity with which Pascal has sought to express the exact opinions of the Jesuit teachers, not sparing any essential limitations by which they were accompanied. There is no good reason to doubt that his own statement of his method accords with the facts. "I am asked," he says, "if I myself have read all the books which I have cited. I reply, No. To do this I had need have passed a great part of my life in reading very bad books. But I have twice read Escobar throughout, and, for the others, I had some of my friends read them; but I have never used a single passage without having read it myself in the book quoted, without having examined the case in which it is brought forward, and without having read the preceding and subsequent context."¹

Blame has been thrown upon Pascal for teaching that the whole Order of Jesuits had a settled design of corrupting society. This is an exaggerated statement of Pascal's teaching, quite unworthy of Voltaire, on whose authority it has industriously been repeated.² In the very work in which he makes his onslaught upon Jesuit morals he says: "Know, then, that their object is not the corruption of manners, — that is not their design. But as little is it their sole aim to reform them, — that would be bad policy. Their idea is briefly this. They

¹ *Pensées*, part ii. art. xvi. § 78.

² *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, chap. xxxvii.

have such a good opinion of themselves as to believe that it is useful, and in some sort essential to the good of religion, that their influence should extend everywhere, and that they should govern all consciences. . . . Accordingly, having to deal with persons of all classes, they find it necessary to have casuists cut out to match this diversity.”¹

Attempts have been made to defend the Jesuits, on the ground that the bad maxims quoted by Pascal were not sanctioned by the whole Order, and that others of a very different tenor might be found in their writings. Pascal himself encountered such attempts. But he replied that the Order, far from discountenancing the offending works, had sanctioned their repeated publication.² As respects the good maxims, he declared that they were no offset to the bad, inasmuch as, on the Jesuitical doctrine of probabilism, any individual could make his own choice of maxims, needing only the opinion of a respectable author to confirm his choice. Referring to some of the better sayings of their casuists, he says: “These testimonies, disjoined from the rest of your doctrine, may hoodwink those who know little about it; but we, who know better, put your principles and maxims together. You say, then, that Vasquez

¹ Letter v.

² Pascal very properly calls attention to this point in more than one instance. A society which claims to exercise a strict censorship over the writings of its members has a special responsibility for the published opinions of the individual. Such a censorship the Jesuits had from the start, as is seen in the following provision of their Constitution: “Qui talento praeditus ad scribendos libros communi bono utiles, eos conscriberet, in lucem edere non debet, nisi prius Praepositus Generalis eos videat, et aliorum etiam iudicio et censurae subjiciat; ut, si ad aedificationem fore videbuntur, et non aliter in publicum prodeant.” (Pars vii. cap. iv. § 11.)

condemns murders; but what say you on the other side of the question, my reverend fathers? Why, 'that the probability of one sentiment does not hinder the probability of the opposite sentiment; and that it is warrantable to follow the less probable and less safe opinion, giving up the more probable and more safe one.' What follows from all this taken in connection, but that we have perfect freedom of conscience to adopt any one of these conflicting judgments which pleases us best? And what becomes of all the effect which you fondly anticipate from your quotations? It evaporates in smoke, for we have no more to do than to conjoin for your condemnation the maxims which you have disjoined for your exculpation. Why, then, produce those passages of your authors which I have not quoted to qualify those which I have quoted, as if the one could excuse the other? What right does that give you to call me an 'impostor'? Have I said that all your fathers are implicated in the same corruptions? Have I not, on the contrary, been at pains to show that your interest lay in having them of all different minds? Do you wish to kill your man? — here is Lessius for you. Are you inclined to spare him? — here is Vasquez. Nobody need to go away in ill-humor, — nobody without the authority of a grave doctor. Lessius will talk to you like a heathen on homicide, and like a Christian, it may be, on charity. Vasquez, again, will descant like a heathen on charity, and like a Christian on homicide. But, by means of probabilism, which is held by both Vasquez and Lessius, and which renders all your opinions common property, they will lend their opinions to one another, and each will be bound to absolve those

who have acted according to principles which each of them has condemned.”¹

Doubtless Pascal overlooked the connection of the loose casuistry with the system of the Romish Church. He did not duly weigh the incentive which came from the slavery and mechanism of the confessional. But otherwise, his critique was well founded. It is no small item in support of his fairness, that a number of the doctrines which earned the lash of his irony still have currency in the standard works of the Order. Whoever doubts this needs only to read the writings of Lacroix, Liguori, and Gury, belonging respectively to the early part of the eighteenth century, the latter part of that century, and the middle of the present century. Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorists, was not, it is true, a member of the Order of Jesuits. It is right, nevertheless, to regard him as an exponent of their teaching. He built largely on the works of their casuists. His canonization (1839) has been claimed by them as a justification of their system of morals. Gury refers to him on almost every page. In a word, the laxer side of his teaching is simply the common Jesuitism which had been penned scores of times before his day. As respects the teachings of Liguori and Gury, the Jesuits are, indeed, largely shielded from criticism within the Romish communion. The one has been proclaimed by papal authority (1871) a *doctor ecclesiae*, a title which is explained to signify that any of his opinions may be followed without peril. The “Moral Theology” of the other has passed through more than a score of editions, is extensively used in Roman Catholic seminaries, and

¹ Letter xlii.

has all the sanction which goes with the fact of issue from the presses of the Propaganda at Rome. This may bind the judgment of one inside the circle of infallibility, and compel him to reproach Pascal as the vilifier of sound ethics. But obviously, to one outside it can only seem that the mirror of the Provincial Letters is now held up to the Roman Catholic Church at large, instead of giving back the lineaments of a single party.

Turning to these authors, we find them inculcating the doctrine of probabilism with only slight abatement. Liguori, it is true, was wavering on this question. While some Jesuits have recently claimed him as a representative of genuine probabilism, and he appears as such in various details, he seems in his final theory to have held the tenet in a restricted form. If Lacroix and Gury fall short of the doctrine of the more extreme among the old probabilists, they do not escape the essential taint of this prime dissolvent of moral obligation.¹ On the subject of mental reservation there is little reason for preferring these later authors to those who wrote in the time of Sanchez and Escobar. Scarcely one of those whom Pascal impaled allowed a wider range to innocent lying than is given by Liguori and Gury.² The reverend casuists also grant a wide scope

¹ "Nos vero opinantes licitum esse sequi opinionem etiam minus probabilem libertati faventem, hanc apponimus restrictionem, scilicet: *modo excessus probabilitatis sententiae tutoris non sit valde notabilis.*" (Gury, Theol. Moral., n. 60, edit. 1857.)

² "Amphibologia triplici modo esse potest: I. Quando verbum habet duplicem sensum, prout *volo* significat velle, et volare. II. Quando sermo duplicem sensum principalem habet, v. gr. *hic liber est Petri*, significare potest, quod Petrus sit libri dominus, aut sit libri auctor. III. Quando verba habent duplicem sensum, unum magis communem, alium minus, vel unum literalem, alium spirituale. . . . Sic quis interrogatus de aliquo,

to private discretion in settling property rights, teaching very explicitly that servants who are insufficiently paid, and litigants, who are condemned in court to hand over moneys which are not truly owed, may obtain justice to themselves by clandestine compensa-

quod expedit celare, potest respondere, *dico non*, id est dico verbum *non*. Cardenas de hoc dubitat, sed, salvo meliori consilio, videtur immerito, cum verbum dico vere duplicem sensum habeat; significat enim proferre, et asserere, in nostro autem sensu *dico* idem est ac profero. His positis, certum est et commune apud omnes, quod ex justa causa licitum est uti aequivocatione modis expositis, et eam juramento firmare." (Lignori, Theol. Moral., lib. iii. tract. ii. dub. iv. n. 151.)

"Reus, aut testis, a iudice non legitime interrogatus, potest jurare, se necire crimen, quod revera scit; subintelligendo, necire crimen, *de quo* legitime possit inquiri, vel necire *ad deponendam*." (Ibid., n. 154.)

"Quaeritur an reus legitime interrogatus possit negare crimen, etiam cum juramento, si grave damnum ex confessione ipsi immineat? Negant *Elbel* cum *D. Thom.* et quidem probabilius, quia reus tenetur tunc pro communi bono damnum illud subire. Sed satis probabiliter, *Lugo*, *Tamb.*, *Sanct.*, *Sporer* item *Elbel*, *Carden.* cum *Nav.*, *Less.*, *Sa* et *Fill.* et aliis pluribus, dicunt posse reum, si sibi immineat poena mortis, vel carceris, aut exilii perpetui, amissionis omnium bonorum, triremium, et similis, negare crimen, etiam cum juramento (saltem sine peccato gravi), subintelligendo *se non commisse quatenus teneatur* illud fateri, modo sit spes vitandi poenam." (Ibid., n. 156.)

"Possunt uti restrictione *late mentali* omnes personae publice interrogatae de rebus suae fidei commissis; ut sunt secretarii, legati principum, duces exercituum, magistratus, advocati, medici, chirurgi, obstetrices. . . . Potest famulus jussu domini negare ipsum esse domi, quamvis adsit; quia talis locutio generatim est usu recepta ad significandum eum non esse domi quatenus videri possit." (Gury, Theol. Moral., n. 458.)

"Anna, cum adulterium commisisset, viro de hoc suspicanti et sciscitanti respondit prima vice, se matrimonium non fregisse; secunda vice, cum jam a peccato fuisset absoluta, respondit: *Innocens sum a tali crimine*. Tandem tertia vice, adhuc instante viro, adulterium prorsus negavit dixitque: *non commisi*, intelligendo adulterium tale, quod teneat revelare seu: non commisi adulterium tibi revelandum. *Quaeritur*, An damnanda Anna? *Responditur*, In triplici memorato casu Anna a mendacio excusari potest." (Gury, Casus Conscientiae, p. 129, edit. 1865.)

tion.¹ Various other points might be mentioned in which the later writers repeat the likeness of the earlier. They speak of the obligation to love God in the same soulless fashion, and exhibit the same crude materialism in the measurement of sin. But enough has been said to confirm the impression that Pascal did not mistake the trend of Jesuitical casuistry.

The death of Pascal occurred about five years after the Provincial Letters were written. In this interval he composed his "*Pensées*," or thoughts on the topics of philosophy and religion. Though left in an incomplete state, this book reveals the same unique mind which glows through the Provincial Letters. Perhaps even more than in the earlier production one sees the man back of the writer, an energy of soul which expresses itself well because expression is a congenial means of relief. Not a little has been said respecting a sceptical vein in the *Pensées*. There is some ground for this line

¹ *Famuli non peccant, si sustentationem vel mercedem justam domino negante, utantur compensatione occulta, dummodo tamen alius modus non sit impetrandi; nec plus accipiat, quam debetur; neque scandalum, aut aliud incommodum grave timeatur.*" (Lignori, lib. iii. tract. iii. dub. iv. n. 349.)

"Qui vero in extrema egestate rem alienam consumpsit, ad nihil post usum rei tenetur, si nec spem habeat fore ut aliquando restituere possit, etai postea ad meliorem perveniat conditionem." (Gury, Theol. Moral., n. 601.)

"Augustinus a judice damnatur ad solvendum Antonio debitum, quod contraxit quidem, sed quod certissime solvit. Obtemperat judicis sententiæ coactus; sed mox, data occasione, occulta compensatione erga Antonium utitur. *Quæritur*, An Augustinus potuerit compensatione uti? *Responditur*, De jure naturali Augustinus occulta compensatione uti potuit, si alio modo, quod suum est, repetere non potuerit. Nec obstat, quod judicis sententia intervenerit. Judex enim non gaudet facultate tribuendi alicui id, quod suum non est." (Gary, Casus Cons., pp. 177, 178.)

of remark, but important qualifications need to be noted. Cousin, who has made considerable account of this trait, is careful to state that it did not infringe upon the domain of religious conviction. "It is in philosophy," he says, "that Pascal is a sceptic, and not in religion. Indeed, it is because he is a sceptic in philosophy that he attaches himself the more closely to religion as the only refuge."¹ Even as respects philosophy, too, Pascal's scepticism seems not to have been unmitigated. He does not so much challenge first principles here, as refer them back to the heart, to spontaneous belief, to intuition.²

That the pen of Pascal served as a shield to the Jansenists cannot be questioned. While his exposure of Jesuit teaching had no immediate effect upon the intentions of the authorities, and an unseemly pressure was brought to bear upon the nuns of Port Royal, and upon others, to constrain their subscription to the papal sentence, it nevertheless created a public opinion which held back the instigators of persecution. As the Papacy

¹ *Des Pensées, Avant-Propos*, 1844.

² What else is the import of the following passage? "Nous connoissons la vérité, non-seulement par la raison, mais encore par le cœur; c'est de cette dernière manière que nous connoissons les premiers principes, et c'est en vain que le raisonnement, qui n'y a point de part, essaye de les combattre. Les pyrrhoniens, qui n'ont que cela pour objet, y travaillent inutilement. Nous savons que nous ne révoquons point, quelque impuissance où nous soyons de le prouver par raison. Cette impuissance ne conclut autre chose que la faiblesse de notre raison, mais non pas l'incertitude de toutes nos connoissances, comme ils le prétendent. Car la connoissance des premiers principes, comme qu'il y a espace, temps, mouvement, nombre, est aussi ferme qu'aucune de celles que nos raisonnements nous donnent; et c'est sur ces connoissances du cœur et de l'instinct qu'il faut que la raison s'appuie, et qu'elle y fonde tout son discours."

in 1668, in the person of Clement IX., assumed a less exacting position, allowing a formula of subscription which did not so definitely charge Jansenius with heresy, comparative peace was established. Arnauld was, indeed, compelled to spend his last years in exile ; but the Jansenists as a body suffered little molestation for the remainder of the century.

At the beginning of the next century, however, a case of conscience, which passed from the confessional to the consideration of the Sorbonne, reopened the miserable controversy on the question of fact. The Pope, Clement XI., now fully enlisted in favor of the Molinist or Jesuitical party, refused to remain on the ground of the pacification of his predecessor, and renewed (1705) the severest constitutions which had been promulgated against the Jansenists. Port Royal de Champs was laid utterly waste (1709), the nuns were banished to other convents, and even the bones of the dead were exhumed and transferred to other resting-places. The "Moral Reflections" of Quesnel, censured rather ineffectually, a few years before, as tinged with Jansenism, was assailed in 1713 by Clement XI. in the famous bull *Unigenitus*, and one hundred and one of its propositions were condemned. The censuring of some of these propositions would not have been specially discreditable to the Roman tribunal, had it not still kept up the vain pretence of honoring Augustine as a great theological authority. But there were other sentences in the list which were by no means so ill deserving, and whose formal reprobation was an assault upon common morality and religion. On the whole, the bull *Unigenitus* must be pronounced a rather disgraceful explosion of

infallibility. Among the condemned propositions were the following :—

44. "There are but two loves, from which spring all our volitions and all our actions: the love of God, which does everything for His sake, and which He rewards; and the love of ourselves and the world, which does not refer to God that which ought to be referred to Him, and which for that very reason becomes evil."

54. "It is charity alone that speaks to God; it is to charity alone that God listens."

79. "It is useful and necessary at all times, in all places, and for all classes of persons, to study Holy Scripture, and to become familiar with its spirit and its mysteries."

91. "The fear of an unjust excommunication ought never to hinder us from doing our duty. We are not severed from the Church, even when we appear to be cast out of it by the wickedness of men, so long as we are united to God, to Christ, and likewise to the Church, by means of charity."

94. "Nothing gives a worse opinion of the Church to its enemies, than to see tyranny exercised therein over the faith of the faithful, and division encouraged for the sake of things which injure neither faith nor morals."¹

Most of the French bishops subscribed to the bull *Unigenitus*. Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, honored himself and atoned for previous inconstancy by a steadfast opposition for a number of years, and only gave way when the imbecility of age had slackened his vigor. Fifteen bishops shared his determina-

¹ W. H. Jarvis, *History of the Church of France*, ii. pp. 213-215.

tion. In other ranks a much larger percentage was enrolled in the opposition, not because they had any special regard for Jansenism pure and simple, but because they detested Ultramontaniam. Several universities, a number of the religious orders, a large proportion of the parochial clergy and of the more intelligent citizens, supported the protest against an unqualified acceptance of the Unigenitus. Means were thus found for prolonging the struggle into the next reign. But Jansenism had seen its best days. In the later times its religious earnestness succumbed to political finesse, or was corrupted by superstitious enthusiasms.

In our glance at the Gallican Church, we omit the departments of philosophy and dogmatics, as the consideration of these belongs more appropriately to doctrinal history. The names of Descartes and Malebranche, on the one hand, and of Thomassin and Petau (or Petavius), on the other, indicate the main achievements in these fields. Respecting Descartes, however, it is to be noticed that his association with the reign of Louis XIV. was more through the medium of his system of thought than through personal connection. During most of his philosophical career, which ended in 1650, he dwelt upon foreign soil.

III. — PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE.

THE Huguenots enjoyed comparative quiet and freedom during the ministry of Cardinal Mazarin. Colbert, who held a prominent place in the royal council after

the death of Mazarin, sought also to protect them. It was one of his chief ambitions to promote the manufacturing industries of France, and, in this endeavor, the intelligent and enterprising Huguenots were his main dependence. A very large proportion of the skilled artisans of the country came from their ranks. But even the powerful patronage of Colbert was not wholly effectual, and during his ministry the first of those repressive and atrocious decrees which stained the reign of Louis XIV. were issued.

The motive for the persecution was in part political and in part religious. As respects the former incentive, however, it should be noticed that it came rather from the region of *doctrinaire* politics than from that of practical statesmanship. The absolute monarchy of Louis XIV. was intolerant of dissent. It was conceived that the ideal of national unity required a homogeneous realm, and that this could be realized only through a uniform system of faith and worship. The Protestants were objectionable simply because they were not conformed to the national pattern, which was represented by the throne. There was no just occasion to question their loyalty, nor was it seriously questioned. On the contrary, it was obviously the conviction that the Protestants were reduced to a wellnigh passive state, which emboldened the government to proceed to a sweeping proscription of their religion. The mainspring of attack was not suspicion, but confidence,—the confidence of the French monarch in his invincible headship. As Voltaire remarks, “The glory which had surrounded Louis for [nearly] fifty years, his power, his firm and vigorous government, had taken from the Reformed party,

as from all orders in the State, all idea of resistance.”¹ The events of the persecution confirm this opinion. Aggression had reached the point of intolerable rigor before there was any rebellion, and then it was on a limited scale, a desperate expedient of the more daring to retain some security for the rights of conscience. As respects the religious incentive in the persecution, it was common to the great body of Roman Catholic clergy. The King’s Jesuit advisers may have been among the foremost instigators of the crusade. But it is not necessary to throw the responsibility upon any one party. The tolerance which had been accorded to the Huguenots was the purchase of their swords. Grudgingly conceded, the product of necessity rather than of choice, it had no adequate safeguard when once the necessity which introduced it seemed to have vanished. The bigotry of monks, priests, and bishops brought against it a continual pressure. There were, indeed, honorable exceptions to this temper, but they formed too small a minority to exercise any perceptible influence. It was not requisite that the Pope should help to kindle the spirit of intolerance by his paternal counsels. In fact, the Pope had little to do with the great final attempt to exterminate French Protestantism. It was a Gallican enterprise. At its crisis the relations of France with the Roman court were the reverse of harmonious. The Pope indeed applauded the “Very Christian” persecutor for his splendid services to the Church. But his tardiness in proffering congratulations, as well as some side remarks, indicate that he was largely influenced by a

¹ Siècle de Louis XIV., chap. xxxvi.

sense of professional requirements. There was no such spontaneity in his rejoicing as in that which, a hundred years before, had burst forth at the news of the St. Bartholomew massacre.

As early as 1656 a disposition was manifest to interpret the Edict of Nantes in a narrow and partisan fashion, to the disadvantage of the Protestants. In 1663 a marked infringement upon the design of that instrument appeared in the prohibition that Protestants, having once espoused Romanism, should return to the so-called Reformed religion, and that priests or religionists should embrace the Reformation. The penalty for the violation of this edict, as subsequently declared, was nothing less than confiscation of goods and perpetual banishment. A declaration of the government, in 1665, authorized Protestant sons and daughters, who had reached the ages of fourteen and twelve respectively, to change their religion and to leave their parents, demanding of them an annuity. Soon after, an attempt was made to wrest all the higher education from the Protestants, and private individuals of that class were prohibited from keeping academies. They were likewise debarred from offices, and hindered from engaging in various occupations or from promotion in such as were open to them. To repressive measures—proselyting expedients on a large scale were joined. In 1676 certain revenues were appropriated to the buying up of converts. As all the tricks of persuasion were joined with this expedient, not a few were won from the lower ranks; but they proved unstable converts, and it was found necessary to repeat and to sharpen the regulations against backsliders. In 1682 the royal

decrees again crossed the precincts of the family, and the age at which children might profess conversion to Romanism, with consequent title to training in that religion, was reduced from twelve or fourteen to seven. Well may we believe, as a writer of the era testifies, that the hearts of Huguenot fathers and mothers were stricken with grief and terror by this menace against their dearest rights.¹

The constant multiplication of vexatious and tyrannical measures began to drive the Huguenots out of the kingdom. But even the privilege of exile was now grudged the unfortunates. Restriction was placed upon emigration in 1669, and in subsequent years new and more rigorous limitations were imposed. An edict of 1682 declared that Protestants, especially sailors and mechanics, who should attempt to quit the realm with their families, should be liable to the penalty of the galleys for life. "This oppression, from which one was not even permitted to escape by exile, was, at least in principle, far more odious than that terrible expulsion of the Moors which had moved the iron soul of Richelieu with indignation."²

The death of Colbert (1683) removed the last means of shelter from the Protestants. The savage Louvois, who succeeded him as the King's most influential minister, had no scruples about seconding the most intolerant suggestions of the Jesuit confessor, La Chaise.

¹ "Tous les pères qui avoient un peu de piété, et toutes les mères, encore plus tendres et plus sensibles, se sentirent frapper au cœur; et ne s'attendant qu'à voir tous les jours leurs enfans arrachés d'entre leurs bras, sous le prétexte qu'ils auroient témoigné quelque désir de se faire Catholiques." (Benoît, Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes, liv. xvii., tome iv. p. 446.)

² Martin, Age of Louis XIV., i. 553, 554.

He represented to Louis that everything had been matured for decisive action, that it was only necessary to show the troops to the Protestants to complete their motives for a change of religion. The King accepted the barbarous counsel. To be sure, he gave directions that the soldiers should commit no disorders, and should simply exact a certain sum of money from the Protestants upon whom they were quartered. But the soldiers quickly formed the conclusion, that, if they were successful, their license would be overlooked. And in truth very little ever came up to contradict their conclusion. Thus the horrors of the *Dragonnades* were inaugurated. Wearied wellnigh to death by the intolerable impositions of the soldiers, multitudes of the Huguenots recanted.

Louis, in the intoxication of victory, thought that he might now openly abrogate the solemn pledge with which Henry IV. had bound himself and his successors, and on the 17th of October, 1685, he signed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A special council of conscience, composed of two juriconsults and two theologians, had advised him of his right to take this step.

With the Revocation came the order for demolishing the churches of the Huguenots and the closing of their schools, prohibiting assemblies for the exercise of the Huguenot religion, banishing ministers of the said religion, and requiring children who should be born in the future to be baptized and educated as subjects of the Roman Catholic Church. The only favorable stipulation was, that, "till it should please God to enlighten them like others," they were not to be molested on account of their religion, provided they made this a private matter and were strictly loyal.

From this last provision it was judged that the King did not intend to force all the Protestants to abjure their faith, and many were led to hope for release from their oppressors. But no release was intended. On the contrary, Louvois gave this diabolical direction: "Let the soldiers be allowed to live very licentiously." Thus faithlessness and cruelty joined hands in the treatment of the Huguenots.

"The chiefs of the Dragonnades judged it necessary to restrain bad converts by making examples of the obstinate; hence arose an inundation of horrors. Everything, in fact, was allowed the soldiers but rape and murder; and even this restriction was not always respected; besides, many of the unfortunate died, or were maimed for life, in consequence of the treatment to which they had been subjected; and the obscene tortures inflicted on women differed little from the last outrage, but in a perversity more refined. All the diabolic inventions of the highwaymen of the Middle Ages to extort gold from their captives were renewed here and there to secure conversions; the feet of the victims were scorched, they were strappadoed, suspended by the feet; young mothers were tied to the bedposts, while their infants of the breast were writhing with hunger before their eyes. 'From torture to abjuration, and from this to communion, there was often not twenty-four hours' distance, and their executioners were their guides and witnesses. Nearly all the bishops lent themselves to this impious practice.' Among the Reformed whom nothing could shake, those who encouraged others to resistance, by the influence of their character or social position, were sent to the Bastile, or other state prisons;

some were entombed in subterranean dungeons, — in those dark pits, stifling and deadly cold, invented by feudal barbarism. The remains of animals in a state of putrefaction were sometimes thrown in after them to redouble the horror.”

“The abduction of children put the final seal to the persecution. The edict of revocation had only declared that children subsequently born should be brought up in the Catholic religion. An edict of January, 1686, prescribed that children from five to sixteen years of age should be taken from their heretical relatives and put in the hands of Catholic relatives, or, if they had none, of Catholics designated by the judges! The crimes that we have just indicated might, in strictness, be attributed to the passions of subaltern agents; but this mighty outrage against the family and nature must be charged to the government alone.”¹

The dragonnade system was extended over the larger part of the realm. The Vaudois in Dauphiny were invaded. Many fled to their brethren in the mountainous region of Piedmont. But the French government persuaded the Duke Amadeus to refuse them an asylum. Assailed by both French and Piedmontese troops, thousands were slaughtered. Nevertheless, a few valiant and steadfast men were able to maintain themselves among the rocks. In France, at large, the increased rigors aroused, instead of crushing, the spirit of the Huguenots. Many thousands, rather than sacrifice their faith, braved the perils of emigration.

How was the result viewed at court? In those gilded saloons shut out from communication with the misery

¹ Martin, *Age of Louis XIV.*, ii. 43-45.

of the Dragonnades only one side of the subject was regarded. The groans of the tortured, the imprisoned, the exiled, and the dying were unheard. The impoverishment of France through the loss of her most virtuous and enterprising sons and daughters was not considered. All attention was centred upon the grand fact of a Roman Catholic triumph. Louis XIV. was lauded to the skies, and hailed as a new Constantine, a new Charlemagne. The voice of Bossuet joined with others in the chorus of praise.¹ Medals were struck representing the King crowned by religion. Madame de Sévigné pronounced his deed the fairest and most memorable among royal exploits.²

Was ever illusion more complete! This vaunted triumph was a deadly thrust at both national and religious prosperity. France had robbed herself of her best citizens. At the lowest reasonable estimate, a hundred

¹ "Touchés de tant de merveilles, épanchons nos cœurs sur la piété de Louis; poussons jusqu'au ciel nos acclamations, et dison à ce nouveau Théodose, à ce nouveau Marcien, à ce nouveau Charlemagne, ce que les six cent trent Pères dirent autrefois dans le concile de Chalcedoine: 'Vous avez affermi la foi, vous avez exterminé les hérétiques: c'est le digne ouvrage de votre règne.'" (Oraison Funèbre de Michel le Tellier.)

² "Les dragons ont été de très bons missionnaires jusqu'ici; les prédicateurs qu'on envoie présentement rendront l'ouvrage parfait. Vous aurez vu, sans doute, l'édit par lequel le roi révoque celui de Nantes. Rien n'est si beau que tout ce qu'il contient, et jamais aucun roi n'a fait et ne fera rien de plus mémorable." (Lettre au Comte de Bussy, 28 Oct., 1685.)

The Duke of St. Simon, who was closely connected with the court, indicates that there were some who did not share in this exultation. "The King," he says, "heard nothing but eulogies, while the good and true Catholics and the true bishops groaned in spirit to see the orthodox act towards error and heretics as heretical tyrants and heathen had acted against the truth, the confessors, and the martyrs." (Memoirs, abridged translation by Bayle St. John, vol. iii. chap. i.)

thousand had taken the path of exile. Some have placed the exodus as high as four hundred thousand, but it is hardly probable that it much exceeded half that number.¹ The real loss, however, was much larger than is indicated by estimates of the emigration. Many who remained were so crippled and depressed as never to render the industrial service which otherwise they would have afforded. Moreover, a resentment was kindled in the Protestant states of Europe, which acted very unfavorably upon the foreign relations of France. William of Orange found himself powerfully assisted by the Revocation and the Dragonnades in his attempts to form a coalition against Louis, and raised effectual barriers in the way of his ambitious schemes. The exiled Huguenots added to the strength and prosperity of the several Protestant nations. Holland supplied an abode to many of them. Berlin, then a city of only twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants, received a valuable acquisition in the French refugees, to whom she gave a cordial welcome. Others of the expatriated multitude settled in England. The American Colonies also received some, and here, as elsewhere, they distinguished themselves as competent and industrious citizens. Three out of the seven Presidents of the Revolutionary Congress were men of Huguenot antecedents.²

The material loss, however, can hardly be counted the most serious result that came to France from the savage persecution. The French mind was too elastic

¹ Benoît, a few years after the Revocation, reckoned the number of exiles at more than two hundred thousand (*Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes*, tome v. p. 1014). Martin's estimate is about the same.

² Henry Laurens, John Jay, and Elias Boudinot.

to admit of the ecclesiastical success of such a policy of repression. The authority of the Romish Church was undermined in the very act of enforcing its supremacy. "The attempt to impose by physical force an iron stereotyped uniformity produced a formidable recoil, and that at no distant date, against the whole theory of authoritative teaching. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes furnished a magazine of specious argument for the school of Bayle and the 'philosophes,' the 'libertins,' 'the free-thinkers,' which rose into notice almost immediately afterwards; — a school which was destined, eventually, not only to subvert the national Church of France, but to imperil the very existence of Christianity, and to sap the foundations of the social fabric. Nothing in all history is more solemnly instructive than the progress of that momentous reaction."¹

Custom perpetuated, for a considerable time, the practice of bestowing fulsome praises on Louis as a great Christian hero and conqueror. But it was not long before the veil of delusion was partly rent away. The policy of intolerance was not abandoned, but more or less of doubt and indecision was manifested in its prosecution. Alternations of indulgence and severity indicated that "the infallible monarch" had lost his presence of mind.

Acts of oppression were still sufficiently frequent and notable to keep alive resentment. The hearts of the faithful were inflamed by the sight of preachers sent to the gallows, and their auditors consigned to the galleys. An enthusiasm tinged more or less with fanaticism was awakened especially in the mountainous

¹ W. H. Jervis, *History of the Church of France*, ii. 69.

district of the South, the Cévennes. Men to whom prophetic gifts were accredited began to appear (about 1700) in the secret assemblies of the Cévennese. The apparent stir in their midst increased the persecutions, and several of the congregations which they assembled in the wilderness were massacred by the soldiers. At length, after months of suffering, patience became exhausted. The tyrant of the Cévennes, the archpriest Du Cheyla, who had practised the most abominable cruelties, was set upon by an infuriated band and killed. This was the starting point of a revolt which, if not formidable in point of numbers, was powerful enough to wrest victories from the oppressor, and to cause much trouble in the work of subjugation. Foremost among the leaders of the revolting sectaries, or Camisards, as they were called on account of their white shirts, were two young men, Roland and Cavalier. The latter finally accepted the favorable terms which were stipulated in the name of the government (1704). Roland, on the other hand, rejected the offered peace. Shortly afterwards a traitorous act delivered him into the hands of his enemies, but they were able to possess only his dead body, as he disdained to be made a prisoner. After the death of their most valiant leader, the Cévennese had little heart for further opposition.

The death of Father La Chaise (1709) and the advent of a new confessor to Louis were in no wise favorable to the Protestants. For Le Tellier, the new confessor, was the very opposite of an improvement on La Chaise. A signal expression of his spirit appeared in an edict that was issued in March, 1715. The edict affected to consider that the Reformed religion had

long been abolished, and that, properly speaking, Protestants had no place in France. One inference drawn was, that persons who died without requesting the rites of the Romish Church were backsliders, and were to be buried as such on the highway. A second inference, though not stated, was designed; namely, that since the Roman Catholic was the only Church in France, all marriages outside of that Church were invalid, and children born of such were only bastards. This scheme to dishonor a whole people at once in the cradle and on the death-bed is what Henri Martin has termed "the master-piece of that spirit of falsehood which France has baptized by the name of Jesuitism." It was indeed a fiery trial to which French Protestantism was subjected. A remnant survived the trial, but it was only a remnant.

IV. — GLEANINGS FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES UNDER ROMISH RULE.

Spain in the last half of the seventeenth century was remote from her former headship in European politics. Disordered finances, impaired industries, and inferior military forces left her, both as respects confidence and actual ability, in the second rank of powers. At the beginning of the next century, the protracted war of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) was a serious drain upon her resources, besides involving the loss of her European dependencies.¹

¹ According to the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713 (supplemented by that of Rastadt in 1714), Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands were assigned to Austria, and Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy. In

During the seventeenth century the *auto de fé* was much less of a factor in the religious edification of the Spanish people than it had been in the preceding century and a quarter. The maxims, however, which gave birth to this kind of spectacle, were in full force, and the spectacle itself was none too rare. The most celebrated instance occurred in 1680, when eighteen Jews and one Morisco were burned alive, and several score of Jews were sentenced to lesser punishments.

Though Philip V., the first of the Bourbon line in Spain, gave some tokens of disfavor toward the Inquisition, he conceded to it on the whole a pretty full scope, and the record indicates that its hand was not idle. According to Llorente, during the forty-six years of Philip V. (1700-1746), 782 autos were held in Spain, and 1,564 victims were burned alive.¹

It comported with the tenacious hold of the mediæval régime on Spain that the sale of indulgences continued to flourish in that country. The Reformation, in fact, made scarcely a break in the practice. Before that crisis, the traffic, which primarily was designed to sustain the crusade against the infidel, had become a regular means of revenue to the State; and such it has been ever since. With but slight interruptions, the Popes, who were expected to have a certain share in the proceeds, have granted a continuous series of licenses for the sale of indulgences to Spanish sinners. These, after

1720, Austria received Sicily in exchange for Sardinia. By the peace of Vienna, in 1738, Sicily came back, as a separate kingdom, to a Spanish line, or, rather, was secured to the Spanish prince, who, a few years before, had taken possession.

¹ Histoire de l'Inquisition, iv. 31.

1571, were commonly bestowed for a term of six years. The last, by the favor of Pius IX., was given for an interval of twelve years (1878-1890). The papal benefits, in formal deference to their original purpose, bore the name of *Bulas de la Santa Cruzada*. The indulgences of the Cruzada were of two kinds, one for the living and the other for the dead, — *bula de vivos* and *bula de difuntos*. "Of the former, the formula in use up to and including the grant of Gregory XIII., in 1574, conceded an *indulgentia plenissima* every time the bull was purchased. Subsequently the form was changed, and the purchaser of the bull was entitled twice to plenary remission of sin and punishment, once during life, and again on his death-bed, after confession and due contrition. Without the bull, the confessor could absolve from ordinary sins, but not from their punishment; with the bull, the absolution included the release of the soul from the pains of purgatory due as the punishment of sin, and in addition it absolved from the heinous offences customarily reserved to the jurisdiction of the Pope, excepting heresy. . . . The *bula de difuntos* enabled the purchaser to have inscribed in a blank left for the purpose the name of any deceased friend, whose soul forthwith was liberated from purgatory and ascended to eternal glory; and the preachers of the indulgence were instructed to impress upon the people the fact, that, as soon as the name was entered upon the bull, the soul of the departed was relieved from its sufferings, and soared to the enjoyment of God and of His everlasting glory."¹ The efficacy of this latter

¹ H. C. Lea, Papers of the American Society of Church History, vol. i.

class of indulgences was regarded as in no wise dependent on the spiritual condition or religious acts of the purchaser. It was purely a money transaction, which was pledged to release a soul.¹

A large part of Italy remained during the seventeenth century under foreign dominion. Among the native rulers the Dukes of Savoy were perhaps the most enterprising and successful. Venice maintained a fair degree of prosperity, but during the greater part of the century had little connection with European affairs at large.

The Popes, so far as territorial possessions are concerned, attained the summit of their fortunes. At the middle of the century the States of the Church had reached their widest limits. This local importance, however, was far more than offset by loss in the larger sphere of influence and prerogative. Convenience, indeed, occasionally led a prominent sovereign to defer to the judgment of the Pope; but in many instances his pleasure was openly discarded, and in the greatest questions of European politics no respect was paid to his opinions.

One important episode, which occurred at Rome in the latter half of the century, has already been given, in the account of the trial and condemnation of Molinos. Another event which excited considerable interest was the advent of Christina, the talented but eccentric daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, who abdi-

¹ Sometimes, at least in the recent practice, a regard for the theological, as also for the financial side of the subject, has caused the suggestion to be insinuated, that it is well to take out repeated indulgences for the same soul, inasmuch as there may possibly have been some defect in the first, and, besides, something may depend on the Divine acceptance.

cated the throne of Sweden in 1654 to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. This romantic freak was followed by a residence at Rome, for the most of the time, till her death in 1689. Alexander VII. considered it a special distinction of his pontificate that he was permitted to welcome so illustrious a convert. The gain, however, was rather equivocal. Christina did not conform to the traditional model of saintship. While in theory she accepted the Pope as the Vicegerent of Christ, her practical deference was not extreme, and her temper was far from that of the meek penitent. To Gilbert Burnet, who paid her a visit, "she said it was certain the Church was governed by the immediate care and providence of God; for none of the four Popes that she had known, since she came to Rome, had common sense. She added, they were the first and the last of men."¹

At the peace of Westphalia, Ferdinand III. held the imperial dignity. His death was followed by the long reign of Leopold I. (1657-1705). This monarch had the honor to check the Turks on the East, and Louis XIV. on the West. From the former he obtained a great stretch of territory at the peace of Carlovitz, in 1698; against the latter he was one of the most earnest of the allies, whose combined efforts limited his acquisitions in the direction of the Netherlands and Germany, and caused that the accession of a Bourbon to the Spanish throne should not aggrandize France beyond measure. As respects the internal management of his domains, the record is not specially honorable. To the

¹ Burnet's Own Time, book iv.

Hungarians his rule seemed a heavy yoke. Civilly and ecclesiastically they had cause for dissatisfaction. A large portion of the people were Protestants. By the peace of Linz, in 1645, they were guaranteed full religious liberty. The law still remained, but its execution corresponded to the intolerant counsels of the Jesuits. Near the middle of Leopold's reign the warped administration of law was aggravated into a violent persecution. A pretext for severity was found in a rebellion, though the uprising was quite as much national as religious in its motive. After this storm there was a measure of indulgence. It continued to be, however, only a mutilated tolerance which was enjoyed by the Protestants in Hungary. In Transylvania also, while their condition was more favorable, they were subject to not a little molestation.¹

In Poland evangelical Protestants were secured by law in the enjoyment of their faith. But, as in Hungary, the tenor of the administration was by no means conformable to the law. This was especially true after the Swedish invasion, near the middle of the seventeenth century, had served to kindle fresh animosity. By the action of the Diet in 1669, the legal toleration was restricted, the abjuration of the Romish religion being made punishable with death or banishment. In the early part of the next century some other adverse clauses were put into the statute-book, and in 1724 a disturbance provoked by the misconduct of Jesuit students at Thorn was avenged by a group of judicial murders.²

¹ History of the Protestant Church in Hungary, translated by J. Craig.

² Krasinski, Reformation in Poland.

Toward the Socinians intolerance took the sterner form of a sweeping proscription. In the early part of the seventeenth century, they had a considerable following in the higher classes. Their school at Rakow became a flourishing seat of learning, and was patronized by Trinitarian Protestants, and even by Roman Catholics, as well as by those professing Unitarian beliefs. But a party whose tenets were so generally obnoxious held the right of existence by a very insecure tenure. In 1638, their school at Rakow was abolished, and twenty years later it was decreed that all Socinians, who should not embrace the Romish faith before a given date, should be banished from the country. For a large proportion of the exiles a refuge was found in Transylvania, Hungary, and Holland.

The interference of Louis XIV., and the accession of a Roman Catholic line, in the last part of the seventeenth century, subjected the Protestant people of the Palatinate to an odious and unfair propagandism in the interests of Romanism. At the same time, a more severe ordeal came upon the evangelical inhabitants in the archbishopric of Salzburg. Some were banished in 1684, but the crowning act of persecution took place in 1731 and 1732, when between twenty and thirty thousand, amounting to one tenth of the whole population, were ejected. Prussia profited by this, as by other instances of intolerance, and received into her territory the greater part of the refugees. Some found their way to Georgia, and built there the town of Ebenezer.

CHAPTER II.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

I.—THE ERA OF CROMWELL AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE execution of Charles I. was an event at which but few rejoiced. The groan of anguish and terror which greeted the stroke of the headsman found an echo in all Christian lands. Continental Europe was substantially unanimous in expressions of abhorrence. Among the foremost in this respect were the Protestant countries. The sympathy of Romish zealots with the royal house in its desolation was somewhat modified by the fact, that the victim, as well as the perpetrators of the tragedy, belonged to the ranks of schism and heresy. Conveniently forgetful of the lauded knife of Jacques Clement, and of sundry assassination plots hatched within the sacred precincts of their own communion, they could affect to see in the horrible fate of Charles the natural result of the insubordination of princes and people to the true Church. Protestants, on the other hand, were impelled by all the pride which they felt in their religion to express unbounded detestation of the violence which had brought a great sovereign to the block. In Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, emphatic denunciations were poured forth against the impiety and sacrilege of the regicides.

Only a fraction of the English nation, only a fraction of the Puritan party, approved the execution of the King, or shared directly in the responsibility for the same. In that daring act the army took the lead; of the civilians only the more radical sectaries and republicans seconded the regicidal zeal of the army. The Presbyterians held back. In Scotland so little sympathy did they feel for the ruling faction and its bloody work that they forthwith acknowledged Charles II. as their King, and repudiated all connection with the Parliamentary government of England. The young prince was received in Scotland, and preparations were made for defending his claims, though not till after the Covenant had been forced down his unwilling throat, together with other Presbyterian nutriment equally repulsive to the Stuart constitution.¹ This doubtful process for making a covenant King met with a poor recompense. The arms of Cromwell, which had just subdued Ireland, speedily annihilated the Scottish army and left Charles a fugitive (1650-51).

Although Cromwell had greatly contributed to the supremacy of the radicals, he soon showed a determination not to be overruled by them. After the violent

¹ Charles subscribed to an oath and a declaration. The former reads: "I, Charles, King of Great Britain, &c., do assure and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant and of the Solemn League and Covenant, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling." In signing the declaration he acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family, the responsibility of his father for the blood shed in the late wars, his detestation of all popery, superstition, and prelacy, and his resolve not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions. (Neal, *History of the Puritans*, pt. iv. chap. ii.)

ejection of the surviving remnant of the Long Parliament had thrown the chief power into his hands (1653), he began to reveal conservative instincts, a desire to return to the old constitutional forms. Experience taught him that the enthusiasts whom the revolution in the State had brought to the front, though some of them cherished noble ideas and purposes, had little capacity for the intricate work of carrying on the government. "He came to understand that such innovators, though useful instruments of destruction, were themselves destructive of the very power they had established, and that the classes among whom conservative interests prevail were the natural and permanent allies of authority. . . . The landed proprietors, the clergy, and the lawyers had need of him, and were ready to support him if he would defend them. He made alliance with them, thus completely changing his position, and becoming an aristocrat and conservative instead of a democrat and revolutionist. But he was an able and prudent man, and he knew the art of breaking with old allies only so far as suited his purpose, and of humoring them even when he intended to break with them."¹

During the five years (1653-1658) in which Cromwell, as vested with the title of Protector, might properly be held responsible for the control of affairs, Great Britain was in many respects well governed. The blemish of autocratic rule was indeed apparent; for, while Cromwell never relinquished the idea of governing in conjunction with a legislative assembly, he found his successive Parliaments so little congenial that he in fact made small account of their functions, and treated

¹ Guizot, *Histoire de la République d'Angleterre et de Cromwell*, liv. v.

them in a very summary fashion. But he was no mere despot, and, whatever regard he may have had for his own aggrandizement, he was ever concerned for the prosperity of the people. Worthy men were placed in judicial positions. The safety of property and the exact administration of justice between man and man had never been better cared for. If the presence of a large body of soldiers increased the burden of taxation, it brought little inconvenience beside, since a standard of morals and discipline was maintained in the army which has few parallels in history.

In ecclesiastical respects the condition of the country under Cromwell was somewhat anomalous. There was not, however, such a complete religious chaos as has sometimes been imagined. An exaggerated impression has been produced by the repetition of such names as Ranters, Seekers, Familists, Behmenists, Muggletonians, Vanists, Rosicrucians, Fifth-Monarchy Men, and Socinians.¹ These are not the names of sects proper, and

¹ The terms Ranters, Seekers, and Vanists are vague designations of kindred types of subjective piety. They express the revolt against the letter, and in favor of the dispensation of the Spirit, which found its organized form in the Quakers. The Behmenists were inclined to the theosophic mysticism of Jacob Boehme. Pordage, rector of Bradfield, was the most noted of the party. The Rosicrucians, as represented by Robert Fludd, who wrote shortly before this era, had also a leaning to a speculative mysticism. They emphasized the Divine immanence so strongly as seemingly to affiliate with pantheistic teaching. The Familists, or Family of Love, were a species of Anabaptists, who originated in Holland from Henry Nicholas. Queen Elizabeth had occasion to notice them in 1580. Not attempting to set up a separate church, the Familists considered it their vocation to advocate in the existing establishments the religion of the Spirit, as opposed to forms and ceremonies. The Muggletonians, headed by Ludowick Muggleton and John Reeve, mixed depreciation of the letter with anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity, and with various

most of them do not stand for any conspicuous parties or associations. No doubt, amid the upheaval of old foundations, the profound excitements of the age found vent in some eccentric outbursts of religious enthusiasm. Still, the complexity in belief and worship was not vastly in excess of that which usually has place where no system of repression has induced a blessed condition of uniformity, unthinking passivity, and general saplessness. Aside from Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, the sects proper were the Presbyterians, the Independents, the Baptists, and the Quakers. The Baptists, it may be noted, were a considerable body at this time, although their organized existence on English soil does not date back farther than the reign of James I.¹ As respects all these parties, Cromwell was personally inclined to restrict religious tolerance only so far as was demanded by the security of the State. The Romanists, of course, as being objects of intense

strange notions. The mention of Fifth-Monarchy Men indicates that millenarian tenets had considerable currency. In some instances they were associated with political theories. There seem to have been no congregations of Socinians in England at this time. The proper seat of organized Socinianism, or Unitarianism, had continued to be Poland and Transylvania since the latter part of the sixteenth century. Still, we meet at this time the most distinguished forerunner of the sect in England, John Biddle, whose writings and sufferings won him an honored place in the memory of his co-religionists. He was thrice imprisoned, first under the Long Parliament, then in the time of the Commonwealth, and lastly after the accession of Charles II. Biddle's conception of Christ was identical with that of Faustus Socinus, who gave name to the Unitarian party in Poland. He esteemed him a man in essence, but holding so elevated a position since his ascension as to be properly an object of worship.

¹ The Arminian branch originated among the Brownist refugees in Holland, and shortly afterwards (1612-1614) had a congregation in London. The first well authenticated congregation of the Calvinistic branch dates from the year 1633.

political suspicion, received little consideration. Still the administration of Cromwell was not marked by any peculiar rigor against Romish recusants in England, and one of his eminent counsellors advised that they should be spared all penal inflictions.¹ The Episcopalians, being looked upon as royalists, or partisans of the exiled Stuart, obtained no legal sanction for their worship. The practices of the restless and intriguing compromised the standing of the more peaceable. In 1655 the irritation of Cromwell reached such a point that he forbade the employment of any ejected clergymen as chaplains or schoolmasters. But, as was stated in the enactment itself, there was no design to apply the full rigor of the legal provision to those who should manifest a good disposition toward the government, and we have testimony from the time that the Protector left considerable opportunity for a quiet use of the Prayer Book.² In place of the fallen Anglican Estab-

¹ White Kennett says: "The Protector indeed, for reasons of state, did in May (1655) publish his proclamation for the better execution of the laws against Jesuits and priests, and for conviction of Popish recusants. But one of his principal judges, Commissioner Whitlock, declared his opinion to be for no way of penal proceedings against them. And well might the Papists hope for indemnity when the Jews were treating for the purchase of the same privilege." (*History of England*, p. 198, edition of 1706.) As respects the Jews, it may be added that public opinion hindered Cromwell from according them that open tolerance which he had in mind. He nevertheless connived at their settlement in London, and allowed them to build there a synagogue.

² George Bates, belonging to the royalist party, wrote: "The Protector indulged the use of the Common Prayer in families, and in private conventicles; and though the condition of the Church of England was but melancholy, yet it cannot be denied that they had a great deal more favor and indulgence than under the Parliament." (Neal, *History of the Puritans*, pt. iv. chap. iii.)

lishment and the Presbyterian scheme of the Westminster Assembly, Cromwell introduced a kind of Broad Church. The old framework of patronage and ministerial support was indeed left standing; but the incumbents were not required to be of one definite theological persuasion. The Commission of Triers, which decided upon qualifications for the ministry, included Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists. Members of any one of these, which might be styled the three favored communions, were eligible to benefices, as were also Episcopalians who would renounce the Prayer Book and pledge their allegiance to the government. To secure respectable character in the incumbents a board in each county was charged with the duty of detecting and removing scandalous and inefficient ministers. Beyond a general acceptance of Christianity, in the Trinitarian interpretation, no articles of faith were prescribed. Not a very homogeneous establishment perhaps, nor very comely in the eyes of high-church propriety! Yet it met very well the great difficulties of the situation, and tended toward quite as good a result as has ever flowed from an act of uniformity.¹

The eccentricities of the Quakers necessarily placed them beyond the Cromwellian establishment. It must be allowed, too, that their general fortune under the Protectorate was far from being enviable. While Cromwell himself was not disposed to disturb them, he took no effectual pains to shield them from the natural effects of popular hatred. Hundreds of them had experience of

¹ A lucid account of Cromwell's ecclesiastical scheme is given by Stoughton, *Religion in England*, vol. ii. chap. iii.

the tender mercies of the prison. Nor was it strange that they were put to some hardships. While Quakerism became erelong a synonym for a very amiable type of mystical or subjective piety, while it obtained a very plausible guise in the exposition of Barclay, and acquired through Penn an association with gentility and philanthropy, it was a severe tax on Christian charity at its first entrance into the world. The founder, George Fox, who began his public career shortly before the time of the Commonwealth, sometimes allowed his honest zeal to get the better of his discretion, and disturbed public worship with his impertinent testifying. Some of his followers carried extravagance to a still greater pitch. Exhibitions were indulged which compelled the interference of the magistrate. But no just discrimination was used. Penalty enormously transcended the measure of offence. The Quakers were beaten with many stripes where they deserved but few, or where in fact most of them did not deserve any at all. No doubt, their system carried subjectivity and anti-ceremonialism to an extreme. But their history gave ample proof of sincerity and religious earnestness, and some points in their belief stood in favorable contrast with the creeds which had long been in the ascendant. Their early extravagances were a vanishing appendage to their essential system,—the religion of intuition and inner consciousness.

As in the political system of Cromwell Scotland and Ireland were brought into legislative union with England, so they were placed under a like ecclesiastical régime. In the former country Presbyterianism naturally remained dominant, but it was not allowed to

maintain an exclusive right. The Episcopal Church in Ireland shared the misfortunes of the mother Church in England. The Presbyterians, who held the next place in point of numbers among the Irish Protestants, were shown more consideration; but they too, at least in the earlier part of the Commonwealth era, were subjected to privations, on account of their pronounced leaning to the cause of the Stuarts. Of the one hundred and fifty ministers who were distributed through the Protestant districts of Ireland in 1655, upwards of one hundred and thirty were Independents or Baptists.¹ To Irish Romanists Cromwell was a stern master. The "terrible surgery" with which he cut through the rebellion in 1649, and enthroned the authority of the revolutionary government,² was followed by confiscation of lands, and by expulsion of priests and Jesuits. For these rigors, it is true, there were some compensations. Under the rule of Cromwell, Ireland not only had peace and order, but also the benefit of a liberal system of trade. The country, therefore, advanced to an unwonted degree of material prosperity.

In the management of foreign affairs, Cromwell ad-

¹ Killen, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 123, 124.

² The massacre of the garrisons at Drogheda and Wexford is explained — not justified — by the necessity, as Cromwell apprehended it, of hastening through the Irish war by stress of terror, in order to meet serious dangers which were threatening the Commonwealth from other quarters. Another, but subordinate, design was retribution for the massacre of Protestants in 1641. Cromwell himself said of his procedure: "Since my coming into Ireland, I have this witness for myself, that I have endeavored to avoid effusion of blood; having been before no place to which such terms have not been first sent as might have turned to the good and preservation of those to whom they were offered." (*Letter lxxiii.* in *Carlyle's edition.*)

mirably sustained the honor of the nation and the interests of Protestantism. "After half a century, during which England had been of scarcely more weight in European politics than Venice or Saxony, she at once became the most formidable power in the world, dictated terms of peace to the United Provinces, avenged the common injuries of Christendom on the pirates of Barbary, vanquished the Spaniards by land and sea, seized one of the finest West India islands, and acquired, on the Flemish coast, a fortress which consoled the national pride for the loss of Calais. She was supreme on the ocean. She was the head of the Protestant interest. All the Reformed churches scattered over Roman Catholic kingdoms acknowledged Cromwell as their guardian."¹

The only serious weakness in the rule of Cromwell was lack of legitimacy. He was admired or feared upon every hand. He crushed conspiracy after conspiracy with great celerity and apparent ease. But he was out of the regular line, a self-appointed power, a usurper; and with so conservative a people as the English, this meant a great deal. It stood in the way of any hearty complacency in his rule. Only by constant tension and the prestige of his mighty successes was he able to hold the position which he arrogated to himself. Had he claimed more and actually assumed the crown, which, at one time, he was strongly disposed to grasp, the balance might easily have been turned against him. With a discretion as remarkable as his boldness, he stopped at the right point.

The greatness of Cromwell did not consist in the clear

¹ Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 108.

grasp and steadfast pursuit of great principles. His course was never marked out far ahead. He acted according to the conditions of the times. But he acted with a wonderful insight into those conditions, and with an irresistible will-power to carry through any resolution with which he had become inspired. His extraordinary abilities as military captain and administrator are beyond dispute. Said one who knew him well: "He was a strong man; in the dark perils of war, in the high places of the field, hope shone in him like a pillar of fire, when it had gone out in all the others." His bitterest opponents have not been able to refuse the tribute of admiration to his unique mastery over the conditions of his time. "He was one of those men," wrote the Earl of Clarendon, "whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time; for he never could have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humors of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them, who, from a private and obscure birth, (though of good family), without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humors, and interests into a consistence that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction. . . . To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates, to awe and govern these nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was instance of a very prodigious address."¹

¹ History of the Rebellion, book xv.

As respects the moral character of the great usurper judgment has been as wide apart as the poles. But this diversity results rather from the force of prejudice than from lack of adequate means of decision. In the letters and speeches of Cromwell one finds a tolerably trustworthy mirror of the man.¹ The image which is there reflected is certainly not that of unmitigated deceit and selfishness. It may not be that of a pure patriotism and heart integrity, such as the name of Washington brings before the mind; there may be traces of personal ambition and self-seeking; but there are also notes of higher qualities. One cannot read far without reaching the conclusion that Cromwell's religious profession was no mere cloak or politic accommodation. He was evidently a man of theocratic consciousness, deeply filled with a sense of the presence and immediate agency of God in the world, viewing his own life as under the pressure and guidance of an almighty hand. To describe him as a hypocrite is wide of the mark. A far more authentic description is given when we say, that a strong religious enthusiasm, too ready with its interpretations of Divine Providence, was blended in Cromwell with personal ambition. The influence of the former was modified by the latter, but never wholly extirpated thereby.

¹ See Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations by Thomas Carlyle. Among the speeches, that addressed to Parliament, Sept. 17, 1656, is especially noteworthy. Carlyle thus describes it: "Rude, massive, genuine; like a block of unbeaten gold. A speech not so fit for Drury Lane, as for Valhalla, and the Sanhedrim of the Gods. The man himself, and the England he presided over, there and then, are to a singular degree visible in it; open to our eyes, to our sympathies. He who will see Oliver, will find more of him here than in most of the history-books yet written about him."

Though Cromwell's son, Richard, succeeded in name, the army was the real successor of the great Protector. Had the army been united, the nation would have had no easy task in escaping its domination, though the great body of the people were averse to military rule. But through the action of General Monk and the troops which had been stationed in Scotland, the army became divided. Means were thus found of calling a new Parliament. Many in this Parliament were friendly to the House of Stuart, and many others saw no hope of escape from anarchy save in a recall of the banished prince. Hence, Charles was restored to the throne (1660) which had been made vacant by the execution of his father. To many, who had fought against despotism and high-churchism, this recall of the Stuarts must have appeared as a surrender of all that had been achieved. The sacrifices of many years seemed to have been made to no purpose. The conflict was, indeed, unfinished. Yet the battles already fought were not fruitless; for who can tell how much of the elements of stability and self-governing faculty date back to that season of national discipline. In the immediate reaction, far more may seem to have been lost than gained. But no royalist or high-church reaction could long shut out of the national life and character, the natural influence of such a season of high endeavor. "As soon as the wild orgy of the Restoration was over, men began to see that nothing that was really worthy in the work of Puritanism had been undone. The revels of Whitehall, the scepticism and debauchery of courtiers, the corruption of statesmen, left the mass of Englishmen what Puritanism had made them, serious, earnest, sober

in life and conduct, firm in their love of Protestantism and of freedom.”¹

II. — THE ERA OF THE RESTORED STUARTS.

If patient waiting and cheerfulness under disaster and disappointment ought to weigh in favor of royal claims, then Charles II. deserved to gain the English throne. Nature had given him a peculiar elasticity of temperament, and the school of adversity had served to cultivate rather than to eradicate his native bent. In all the qualities which make an agreeable courtier he was unexcelled. It was no effort for him to unbend, and to lose the sovereign in the companion. If his memory was not very tenacious of benefits, he had no passion for revenge, and by his easy address and good nature was capable of winning over opponents. If his own enjoyment was a chief consideration, he did not wholly ignore the enjoyment of his associates. Witness the mingled humor and urbanity which, amid the solemnities of the closing scene, inspired him to beg pardon of his friends for being such a long time in dying. Though he was no adept in learning, he ranked fairly among the princes of his time as respects culture, aimed to patronize literature, and was interested in new developments in science and art. But here commendation must cease. Charles II. was a poor example of royalty and manhood. His epicurean regard for his own comfort took precedence of all higher aims, and, under the existing conditions, was only less cruel than despotic energy. He cared little for his own honor or

¹ Green, *History of the English People*, iii. 321, 322.

the honor of the nation. He condescended to bring himself and his kingdom into a virtual vassalage to Louis XIV., and offered to turn Roman Catholic, that the revenues and patronage of the powerful monarch might enable him to govern his own realm as he desired.¹ In his disregard of family sanctity, he rivalled the shamelessness of the French autocrat. He lavished favors upon several mistresses, and founded new houses among the nobles with his bastard sons. His court was made the head-quarters of license and frivolity. In fine, Charles was pre-eminently fitted to inaugurate a reaction against Puritan morals and manners.

That reaction came with swift movement and remorseless vigor. Human nature had been severely taxed by Puritan straitness, and as one extreme generally prepares for its opposite, extravagant austerity was followed by extravagant license. "Like a checked and choked up stream, public opinion dashed, with all its natural force and all its acquired momentum, into the bed from which it had been debarred. The outburst carried away the dams. The violent return to the senses drowned morality. Virtue had the semblance of Puritanism. Duty and fanaticism became mingled in common disrepute. In this great reaction, devotion and honesty, swept away together, left to mankind but the wreck and the mire."² Ridicule of the manners and speech of the Roundheads became the current employment of wit. Over against their sanctimonious phraseology a new vocabulary was set up,

¹ Explicit overtures to change his religious profession were a part of the secret treaty which Charles negotiated with Louis XIV. in 1670.

² Taine, *History of English Literature*, book iii. chap. i.

a vocabulary stocked to overflowing with ribaldry and profanity. Literature was abased to the service of Cavalier spite and laxity. Some of the most popular writers of the day cannot be characterized as anything else than high priests of indecency. Rochester's poems, even in their titles, are unfit to be reproduced, and the comedies of Wicherly might properly have been dedicated to Venus or Astarte. Yet these comedies were received with lively applause. Thus the theatre avenged itself for its enforced silence, under Puritan rule, by an excess of wantonness and license, corrupting its more frivolous patrons by its profligate representations, and in turn corrupted by the vicious and clamorous appetite which it had excited. The maximum of this evil infection was at the court and capital. It spread doubtless to other quarters; yet, as indicated above, it is not to be assumed that the great body of the people threw off moral restraint.

No less marked than the reaction against Puritan manners was the reaction against Puritan politics. A royalist fervor such as had never been known was kindled. The policy and disposition of Charles rather than the temper of his flatterers prevented a bloody onslaught upon those who had dared to oppose and resist their King. As it was, the royalist zeal found some opportunities for practical expression, such as the digging up and shameful exposure of the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, and the execution of Henry Vane. In its theories, the spirit of king-worship, as it found no obstructions, observed no limits. The doctrine of non-resistance was carried to the farthest extreme possible. It was taught that nothing could

justify rebellion against a legitimate sovereign. The Established Church enthusiastically appropriated this tenet, and sought to drill it into the minds of her communicants. The majority, perhaps, did not deny the propriety of a meek protest against questionable measures, a refusal of positive obedience to arbitrary and oppressive rule. But the protest, as they taught, must never pass over into active resistance. Moreover, there was a considerable class which took a more radical position. Embracing the patriarchal theory of government, as it was contained in the writings of Sir Robert Filmer, they left no place for proper restrictions of the royal prerogative. In fine, Thomas Hobbes, whose "*Leviathan*" was published some years before the accession of Charles II., had reason to think that the English world was approaching his view, and would ere long erect the sovereign into an earthly god.¹

Such a zeal could not be expected to go without high rewards. As the Church had proved her loyal affection to the King, and was disposed to exalt his prerogatives, she anticipated that the King would exalt her power and influence. It seemed to her that the time for recompense had come, and that now double should be paid her for all her sufferings. At least the leaders in the Establishment were determined to avail themselves of the reactionary movement to sweep away Puritan innovations, and to restore to Anglicanism, with its prelacy and Prayer Book, an unqualified supremacy.

¹ Hallam remarks: "We can frame no adequate conception of the jeopardy in which our liberties stood under the Stuarts, especially in this particular period, without attending to this spirit of servility which had been so sedulously excited." (*Constitutional History of England*, chap. xii.)

Under the existing conditions, the Presbyterians could not hope to sustain their favorite polity. However earnestly they may have believed, with the majority of the Westminster Assembly, that Divine right was on its side, they saw clearly enough that human right, or ability to hold the field, was lacking. They accordingly expressed a willingness to compromise. It was intimated by their representatives that they would accept the rule of bishops, provided their authority should be definitely limited by that of the presbyteries. They agreed also to use the Book of Common Prayer, on condition that some obnoxious points should be amended. To canvass a plan of agreement, a conference was held in 1661. But this negotiation lacked all promise of a successful result. To say nothing about the blunt disputatiousness of Baxter, who acted as spokesman for the Presbyterians, the Episcopalians allowed no real chance for an agreement, as they had no disposition to make concessions. Men like Bishop Sheldon, who was a chief manager on the prelatical side, wished rather that the Establishment should be thoroughly purged of Puritan leaven, than that any scheme of comprehension should be adopted.

The failure of the attempt to compromise meant proscription for the Presbyterians. As for other classes of Dissenters, it was not even thought necessary to admit them to any consultation. The new Parliament which was convened reinforced the strength of the Episcopalians. Even if Charles had been resolute to keep his pledges to the Presbyterians, he would have found it difficult to resist the intolerant zeal of the national legislature. But Charles was no man to expose himself

to risk and trouble for the sake of plighted faith. Accordingly, the blows of persecution began to descend. In 1662 came the Act of Uniformity. This act declared episcopal ordination a prerequisite to the ministerial office, and denounced a fine of one hundred pounds against any one undertaking that office without such ordination; required consent to everything in the Book of Common Prayer, on pain of deprivation; exacted of all schoolmasters and officers in colleges and universities, as well as from all parsons, vicars, and curates, a declaration that it is unlawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King; and required all these classes likewise to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, as an oath which from the beginning was contrary to the laws and liberties of the realm. A day was fixed upon which those who refused to submit to the conditions of the act were to be expelled from their livings. That day (August 24, 1662) witnessed the spectacle of two thousand persons resigning their cures in obedience to conscience. Not content with thus exiling men from their positions, and compelling them to become separatists, the government restricted their liberty, and sought to rob them of every ecclesiastical privilege. In 1665 such of the dissenting ministers as should decline to swear never to attempt any change in the government of Church or State were prohibited from coming within five miles of any town represented in Parliament, and also of any town where they had themselves resided as ministers or preached in any conventicle. A violation of the provisions of this statute (called the Five Mile Act) entailed a fine of forty pounds. Any two justices of the peace, on oath

made before them as to an offence under the act, could commit the offender to prison for six months without bail.

Meanwhile the rod was applied also to the dissenting laity. The Corporation Act, which was passed in 1661, required all magistrates and persons holding offices of trust in corporations to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant as a nullity, and to attest belief in its being unlawful, upon any consideration whatever, to take arms against the King.¹ By the Conventicle Act of 1664, severe penalties were ordained for all persons above the age of sixteen who should attend a religious assembly of five or more persons where the authorized Liturgy should not be used. A first offence under this act involved three months' imprisonment, or the payment of five pounds; a second offence, six months' imprisonment, or payment of ten pounds; a third offence, transportation to any foreign plantation, except Virginia and New England, or the payment of one hundred pounds. An attempt of a convicted person to escape transportation exposed him to a capital sentence.

As the magistrates, to a large extent, were inflamed by the same spirit which dictated this legislation, the jails were soon crowded with Dissenters. Among the victims were not a few men of shining virtue and talent. The extent of the persecution is not, indeed, specially surprising to one who duly considers the spirit of the age and the provocation which had been given. A

¹ "These provisions struck at the heart of the Presbyterian party, whose strength lay in the little oligarchies of corporate towns, which directly or indirectly returned to Parliament a very large proportion of its members." (Hallam, *Constitutional History*, chap. xi.)

turn in the wheel of fortune naturally brought retribution to those who in the time of their ascendancy had rendered such scant charity to the friends of the Establishment. But the retribution surpassed all just bounds. As Hallam has remarked: "No severity comparable to this cold-blooded persecution had been inflicted by the late powers, even in the ferment and fury of a civil war."¹

The Test Act, which was enacted in 1673, while it had its bearing upon Protestant Dissenters, inasmuch as it required that all persons holding offices of trust and profit should be able to certify that they had received the sacrament of the Lord's supper in some parish church, and according to the usage of the Establishment, was mainly directed against Roman Catholics. It imposed the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and exacted besides a declaration of disbelief in transubstantiation. Any person accepting office contrary to the stipulations of this act made himself incompetent to serve as guardian or administrator, to take a legacy, to enter upon any public trust, and exposed himself, moreover, to a fine of five hundred pounds.

In Scotland the ecclesiastical management was in most points a reflex of that which prevailed in England. A servile Parliament swept away the whole body of legislation which had been enacted since 1633. The Covenant was cast out as a thing abhorred. Bishops were reinstated, and the royal supremacy in all spiritual matters was affirmed. Fines were imposed for non-attendance upon the regular worship, ministers refusing to accept the new settlement were subjected

¹ Constitutional History, chap. xi.

to an aggravation of the Five Mile Act. It was even made a capital offence to preach at a conventicle (1670). Such were the laws, and the practice was not far behind. Recusants were exposed, on the one hand, to the greed of those who found a lucrative business in forfeitures and fines, and, on the other, to the barbarities of lawless troops, who were sent out to punish disorders. In one point only was the scheme which was applied to Scotland more indulgent to the Presbyterians than was the settlement in England. No service-book was forced upon the ministers; there was nothing to prohibit the continued use of the Westminster Assembly's Directory. In Ireland, on the other hand, the use of the English Liturgy was made a part of the required conformity. This naturally involved in that country the ejection of most of the Presbyterian ministers from their livings.

The King's part in the persecution was that of a somewhat unwilling acquiescence. It probably cost him little worriment to forsake his promises, and his friendship for the Nonconformists was of the most superficial type. At the same time, however, he had no genuine regard for the Established Church, and considered it a rather irksome task to persecute outsiders for her benefit. The small measure of sympathy which he had for any religious party went to the Roman Catholics. A desire to shield them from the rigors of the law explains the indulgence which he attempted in 1672 to extend to Nonconformists, but which Parliament compelled him to retract. Charles II. was not willing to make substantial sacrifice for any form of religion. While not an avowed unbeliever, his practical atti-

tude toward sacred things scarcely fell short of unmitigated frivolity.¹ First upon his dying bed, when there was no longer occasion to make religion an adjunct of politics, the preference which he had for Rome came to a positive choice. A few hours before he expired, a priest, secretly admitted, received him into the Romish communion.

The supremacy which was accorded to the Established Church under the rule of Charles II. secured neither great honor nor emolument to the majority of her clergy. There were some prominent and lucrative positions, some incumbents of these whose talents would adorn any era; but if the description of Macaulay may be trusted, the average country clergyman of the times was a very humble being. He had no social distinction; he was never expected to choose any one above the rank of a waiting-woman for a wife. Not one living in fifty afforded anything like a comfortable support to a family. Manual labor must often be added to the parish duties to save from positive beggary. The purchase of books was out of the question, and study a secondary consideration. Still, as the historian allows, he was a man of influence. His lack of social prestige was in part compensated by the close relation to the mass of the humble people into which he was brought by his own humble standing.

The Duke of York, who succeeded as James II. (1685), brought to the throne a temper vastly differ-

¹ "He said once to myself," writes Burnet, "he was no atheist, but he could not think God would make a man miserable only for taking a little pleasure out of the way." (*Own Time*, book ii.)

ent from that of his brother. He had less of geniality than Charles, less placability, less power of adapting himself to diverse conditions and parties. He was more diligent and methodical, but these qualities gave him little advantage on account of his narrow-mindedness and stubbornness. Charles knew how to retreat gracefully from an unpromising attempt. James, while he was blind enough to adopt measures certain to incense the great majority of his people, never conceded anything until panic-stricken and appalled by irretrievable disaster. As respects domestic relations, his record is scarcely more fit to be brought to the light than that of Charles. In religion he had become a bigoted Romanist. Unhappily, too, for himself, as the sovereign of a Protestant nation, and for the small minority who professed his faith, he was unwilling to make his faith a private matter. Holding the highest opinion of the royal dignity, disposed to rash and precipitate meddling with affairs that ought to have been approached with the utmost caution, James was well fitted to wreck the Stuart dynasty. Civilly and ecclesiastically, he was bent on making himself intolerable.

Among the evidences of the despotic temper of James are some of the agents whom he trusted and promoted. Who but a man with tyrannical instincts would have raised to the height of power such creatures as Jeffries in England, and Tyrconnel in Ireland? It is no injustice that history has assigned to Jeffries the title of "the unjust judge." Years of practice in cross-examining the hardened criminals of the capital had made him a supreme master of all the arts of effrontery and terrorism by which the accused, whether innocent or guilty,

might be confounded and overwhelmed. "To enter his court was to enter the den of a wild beast." Yet this man was a chosen agent of James, and was assigned a chief part in the administration of the realm. Fresh from the horrors of the Bloody Assizes,¹ he was rewarded with the chancellorship. In fact James treated Jeffries as a man after his own heart, whatever his interests may have led him to say at a later date, when the acts of the Chief Justice were universally execrated.

Another evidence of the love of arbitrary power which actuated James is seen in his desire for the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act. From first to last he hated this with most cordial hatred. Even when an exile, in the instructions which he drew up for his son, he could not forbear to express his dislike for an act whose only fault was that it served as a defence against despotism. Nothing less than absolute rule could satisfy James. And as if to leave no doubt upon this point, he assumed by his sole authority to dispense with the laws of the realm. The Declaration of Indulgence which he put forth (April 4, 1687), whatever may be said in its favor, was a defiance of all legislative power in Parliament.

The arbitrary temper of James, apart from his religion, might in course of time have taxed the loyalty of the nation beyond endurance. As it was, his people had not merely his despotic disposition to offend them, but also his ultra and usurping Romanism. James was more ultra than the Pope himself. Indeed, his Holiness advised against undermining the friendship of the na-

¹ So the cruel and heartless prosecution for participation in the insurrection of Monmouth, in 1685, came to be called.

tion in over-hasty attempts to advance the Roman Catholic Church. Beside the motive of prudence, the Pope had another ground for looking with jealousy on the scheme of James; for he feared that in the outcome England would be practically annexed to France, and thus serve to swell the already dangerous ascendancy of Louis XIV. But the adventurous spirit of the King, stimulated by fanatical advisers, overruled the counsels which came from the Vatican. These false advisers were the Jesuits, who at this time were more closely allied with the French monarch than with the Pope. A genuine successor of Father Persons, the Jesuit, whose intrigues, according to the testimony of Roman Catholics themselves, caused infinite mischief to their brethren in England, appeared upon the stage. With about the same success as his famous predecessor, Father Petre now undertook to engineer for Romish interests in the realm. No other counsellor had such an influence over the designs and conduct of the King as this man.

That James should desire to better the condition of his Roman Catholic subjects cannot be counted blameworthy. He would have been guilty of unnatural indifference, if he had not been anxious to remove the severe proscription under which his brethren labored. And this might perhaps have been accomplished by a prudent and gradual process. But the spirit of the nation opposed to the attempt to gain such an end by violent and precipitate measures impassable barriers. This spirit, too, though lacking in tolerance, was not wholly made up of intolerance. Romish plots had given occasion to the suspicion that Roman Catholics could

not be safely trusted with civil responsibilities. Romish casuistry, as set forth, if not by the authority of the Church, at least by eminent authors in the Church, had encouraged the idea that the principles of Roman Catholics bound them to sacrifice all truth and civil duty to their Church. Hence such men as Tillotson and Locke, who were interested to extend tolerance to the widest practicable limits, conceived that the safety of the State justified a restrictive policy against Romanists. A prejudice thus deeply rooted was not to be removed by sudden and aggressive measures, and least of all at a time when a tremor was being caused in the breast of every Protestant by the tragic fate of his co-religionists in France.

The Romanists being a small minority, James must necessarily depend upon the acquiescence or help of some party of non-Romanists in carrying out his plans. At first, he depended upon the Established Church. He promised to protect it in all its rights as secured by the laws. He had no particle of favor for nonconforming Protestants, and left them to the full rigor of the statutes enacted against them. "He hated the Puritan sects with a manifold hatred, theological and political, hereditary and personal." But if he had less hate for the Established Church he had no love for the same. On the contrary, he was quite willing to take advantage of the "non-resistance" policy, which it went all lengths in proclaiming, to violate its rights as guaranteed by the statutes of the realm. He found, however, that persistent abuse began to disabuse even zealous Churchmen of their non-resistance principles. The great body of Episcopalians were roused into an attitude of resentment

and hostility. In order to weather their opposition, he found it necessary to purchase the acquiescence of the odious Protestant sects. He concluded, therefore, to admit these sects, for the time being, to the favors which he was determined to secure for Roman Catholics, and so published the Declaration of Indulgence, in which he annulled all the statutes against Nonconformists, and asserted full liberty of conscience and of worship. Judged by this act alone, James might appear to be in advance of his age on the subject of religious freedom. But there is abundant evidence that he cared no more for religious freedom than did his patron Louis XIV., who at this very time was dragonnading the Huguenots, and sending them by the ten thousand into exile. He would have been glad to humble the Established Church by the aid of the sects, but the sects would have experienced small grace at his hands, if once he had succeeded in gaining a dominant power for Romanism.

Among the proofs, we may subjoin the treatment to which Scotch Dissenters were subjected in the early part of his reign. With the approbation of James, implied if not indeed explicit, the obsequious Parliament of that realm enacted a law of unexcelled barbarity. By this sanguinary statute mere attendance at a conventicle in the open air was made punishable with death. As everybody understood, the law was aimed against non-conforming Protestants, — the one party at that time which was attracting attention by forbidden assemblies.

A second indication that the principles of tolerance had no real lodgment in the heart of the King is seen in his dealings with the Huguenots. As the fugi-

tives poured into England, he at first professed great pity for them, and ordered a contribution in their behalf. This was pure affectation, designed to allay the jealousy which the persecutions of the Romish King across the Channel had aroused against himself as a Romish sovereign, and to secure a suitable pliancy in the Parliament about to convene. Before ever the contributions had come in, the King had repented of his charity, and begun to denounce the refugees. He warned the Huguenot ministers that it would be at their peril if they inveighed from the pulpit against their oppressor. The book of a worthy refugee, John Claude, containing an account of the perils and hardships of his brethren, was ordered by James to be burned by the hangman, though the book was published on the Continent, and in a foreign tongue. The liberal contribution of forty thousand pounds, which the sympathizing people had sent in, was withheld by the imposition of a most unreasonable test. He decreed that not a penny should be dealt out to any one of these conscientious Calvinists who did not first take the sacrament according to the Anglican ritual. "His conduct toward them was less excusable than that of Louis; for Louis oppressed them in the hope of bringing them over from a damnable heresy to the true Church; James oppressed them only for the purpose of forcing them to apostatize from one damnable heresy to another."¹

A still further evidence that the toleration of James meant toleration ultimately for none but Roman Catholics, is found in the way in which he began to distribute offices. Romanists were brought into the ascendant in

¹ Macanlay, ii. 61.

the Privy Council of the King. His own brother-in-law, Rochester, was expelled from the office of treasurer, because he refused to change his religion. A large proportion of the most responsible positions in the three kingdoms were placed in the hands of those who professed the Romish faith. Protestant officers were dismissed from the army to make room for Roman Catholic favorites. The rights of the Universities were invaded. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge was punished, and his associates rebuked, for refusing to bestow, contrary to a statute of the University, the degree of Master of Arts upon a Romanist. One of the highest positions at Oxford, the deanery of Christ Church, was given to a man whose only recommendation was that he was of the King's religion. An effort was made to force the Fellows of Magdalene College to accept, as president, a man of notorious vileness; and when a sense of shame compelled the withdrawal of his name, the College was still confronted with a royal nominee. Resistance was punished with the expulsion of the Fellows. A Romanist was installed president, and those of like faith were placed in the vacant fellowships. The College in fact was transformed into a Romish seminary. The significance of such a proceeding was unmistakable. It meant that the King, in defiance of law, designed as rapidly as should be feasible to convert the Protestant Establishment into a Romish Establishment. For carrying out this design, an arbitrary court, a new High Commission, was instituted. To the authority of this commission, of which the notorious Jeffries was the chief, all ministers of the Established Church were amenable. All were to be awed or chastised into obe-

dience. A royal edict forbade them to preach on controversial subjects. The bishops were put under arrest and brought to trial for opposing the King's pleasure to use the clergy and the sanctuary as means of proclaiming his illegal Declaration of Indulgence. Churchmen were expected to sit unmoved and unresisting while the foundations were being dug from underneath them. Meanwhile, the King seemed to be preparing in Ireland a support to his English policy. Tyrconnel carried things there with a high hand, so that many Protestants thought it necessary to secure their safety by flight. There was room for the suspicion that Romish Ireland was to be used to subjugate Protestant England.

By this succession of arbitrary acts and open assaults upon the laws and institutions of the realm, James prepared his downfall. The goal toward which he was moving became too distinct to be hid from anything less than total blindness. When he first published his Declaration of Indulgence, a portion of the Dissenters were inclined thankfully to accept the boon, though the more eminent and discerning, like Baxter, Howe, and Bunyan, held aloof from the start, in the belief that an illegal indulgence would prove to be no real benefit. With the progress of events, however, the Dissenters were less and less disposed to repose confidence in James. Very friendly overtures being made by the Episcopalians, they entered into a coalition with them. William, Prince of Orange, who had married Mary, the eldest daughter of James, was invited into the realm. The luckless King had neither the courage nor the power to resist, and fled (1688) to the court of Louis XIV., upon

whose help he depended for regaining his realm. With the aid of French troops he undertook a campaign in Ireland, but the battle of the Boyne (1690) ended all prospect of success through this channel. James spent the remainder of his days in France, where he was treated by Louis with royal generosity. Though hoping still for the recovery of his crown, he was only able to encourage the body of plotters and malcontents who vexed the reign of William and Mary. His arbitrary patronage of Roman Catholicism resulted in failure and exile for himself, and in prolonged hardships for the adherents of his Church.

Viewed on the political side, the religious policy of James redounded greatly to the benefit of the realm. It shocked the English people out of the servile attitude toward the crown which came with the Restoration, brought back something of the temper which had wrestled with Charles I., and thus effectually secured the interests of constitutional government.

Aside from the general outcome in the political and ecclesiastical sphere, the era of the restored Stuarts was, on the whole, a fruitful era in the annals of England. It was able to boast a fair share of illustrious men. Some of these, indeed, received their training in the preceding age of national trial and struggle; yet their achievements were sufficient in the later epoch to give them a definite association with it also. Here belong such eminent Puritans as John Milton, John Owen, and Richard Baxter. To make the list of typical Nonconformists the more complete, we may add also the names of John Goodwin and John Bunyan.

The Restoration left Milton in a strange world. The transition was like a second eclipse, following that which in 1653 had shut out nature from his view. An object of intense royalist animosity, he could hardly hope for personal safety. No serious attempt, however, was made upon his life. A brief imprisonment, and the condemnation of his writings against the late King to be burned by the hangman, were the sum of the positive proceedings against him. He was left to himself, in retirement and obscurity. All the more at home in the field of thought and imagination because the outside world had become so alien, he now addressed himself to the supreme task of his life. The "Paradise Lost" was completed in 1666 or 1667. It was a work at once Miltonic and Puritan; bearing the stamp of individual genius, but at the same time not denying the likeness of that austere company who had founded the Commonwealth; lofty in moral tone and rich in scenes of unrivalled beauty and majesty, yet suggesting some lack of warmth and sympathy, and showing some excess of that dogmatic confidence which proceeds with unfaltering step into the presence of deepest mystery, and endeavors to set forth the Divine in clear outline. The other products of these later years of Milton, the "Paradise Regained," and the "Samson Agonistes," were published in 1671.

John Owen is associated almost wholly with Puritan *theology*. Dowered with an aptitude for exact system, he mapped out the Calvinistic inheritance with distinct and unwavering lines. Never have covenants and decrees had a more stalwart defender against all Arminian heresy. But stern and uncompromising as

was his creed, his temper is said to have been equable and gentle.

In Howe the austerity of Puritan theology was ameliorated by an element of idealism. His writings address the feelings as well as the intellect. Many of his passages have an elevation and breadth which remind of the great work of Hooker. Such qualities explain the eulogistic words of Robert Hall, who declared "that, as a minister, he had derived more benefit from John Howe than from all other divines put together."¹

Baxter was a man who must be described in compound phrase. He was tolerant, yet not wholly for tolerance; a Presbyterian, yet not without qualification; a Calvinist, yet not altogether a Calvinist; a preacher and pastor having the spiritual welfare of his flock most earnestly at heart, and coming before them with direct and penetrating words, yet a controversialist eager to grasp the weapons of debate on every occasion; an author of practical treatises, like the "Saints' Everlasting Rest," and the "Call to the Unconverted," by which tens of thousands have been edified, yet, by his own confession, fond of the fine-spun disquisitions of the scholastics, and affording himself some appalling specimens of his faculty for subtle and endless distinctions; a man as perfectly and unselfishly obedient to conscience as can well be named, yet engaging in a casuistical speculation which, at least in a few points, is quite as well adapted to confuse as to clarify the moral sense.²

¹ Quoted by A. B. Grosart, *Representative Nonconformists*.

² Baxter's "Christian Directory" is an extensive work in the line of casuistry. His fondness for subtle analysis naturally drew him to this field, which was cultivated with such misdirected enterprise in the seven-

His industry was simply amazing. Nearly two hundred treatises, a number of which were elaborate productions, came from his pen. In fine, while his work is not intellectually impressive in the more eminent sense, it is peculiarly striking in its variety and fulness.

John Goodwin earned theological distinction, as being, in the midst of Puritan Dissenters, an able and resolute champion of the Arminian system of doctrine. This system he held much in the sense of the great Leyden Professor from whom it derived its name. "His Arminianism," says Stoughton, "presents some striking differences from that of both the Anglican and Latitudinarian schools; it is animated by an evangelical spirit, and it is wrought out in connection with evangelical principles akin to those which appear prominently in the Arminianism of our Wesleyan brethren. Like them, this eminent predecessor of theirs maintained strenuously the doctrine of human depravity, of justification by faith, of the work of the Holy Spirit, of the new birth, and of sanctification."¹

Bunyan was known in his own time for considerable activity in plain theological writing. It is no mistaken taste, however, which leaves the theologian in oblivion, and gives imperishable renown to the dreamer. His other works may show the sincere and honest mind; his allegory is aglow with the light of genius. Both his experience and his talents fitted him to be "the great artist of the spiritual life of Puritanism." He

teenth century. Among his Protestant contemporaries, Jeremy Taylor, in the "*Ductor Dubitantium*," approached most nearly to his elaborate attempt to resolve all questions of duty.

¹ Religion in England, iv. 372, 373.

took its ideas out of the region of abstraction, and clothed them with such lifelike and homelike forms, that the reader half forgets that he is not treading upon the firm ground of reality. The felicity of his style was such as to please at once the most cultured and the most unlearned. Popularity was almost as speedy as abiding. Ten editions of the "Pilgrim's Progress" were sold before the author's death. The book was composed in Bedford jail, to which Bunyan was committed six months after the Restoration, and in which he remained for eleven years. In his church relations Bunyan was identified with the Baptists. But he was not of the strictest sect. With a breadth which greatly afflicted some of his brethren, he refused to make immersion a pre-requisite to Christian communion at the Lord's table.

The Anglican Establishment was also favored with a number of eminent representatives. Thorndike stood for the acme of High Church sentiment. Cosin, Bramhall, and Bull were also stanch Anglicans, but not so remote from all charity toward Dissenters. Pearson, who is well known for his "Exposition of the Creed," might be ranked as a moderate Anglican. Barrow is to be associated with Low Churchmen. Stillingfleet in his earlier days proved very decidedly by his "Irenicum" a title to be placed in the same class; but later he retreated somewhat from his liberal sentiments. South, whatever may have been his position theoretically in the scale of ecclesiastical parties, stood at the summit as respects a disposition to reprove the Non-conformists, and to lash them with the whip of his satire. Pulpit talent was the special distinction of

South. His nervous, incisive style, set off with frequent sallies of wit, was supremely fitted to command attention, whatever may have been the spiritual result. Barrow, besides being one of the ablest apologists of his day in the dispute with Romanism, was also a distinguished preacher. His sermons have not indeed the sparkle and vivacity which characterize those of South, but they are deeper and more comprehensive in thought, and richer in practical wisdom. Bull, who is likewise remembered for his thoughtful sermons, won his greatest laurels by his *Defensio Fidei Nicaenae* (1685), an argument for the orthodox Trinitarianism of the Ante-Nicene fathers. Historical criticism in the present is compelled to take some exceptions to this work; but it was crowned at the time with a singular honor, bringing to its Protestant author a vote of thanks from Roman Catholic dignitaries in France.

Jeremy Taylor, whom the Restoration elevated to a bishopric in Ireland, survived his promotion but a few years, his death occurring in 1667. His career as an author, therefore, mainly preceded the accession of Charles II. The last of his extended treatises, however, the "Dissuasive from Popery," was published after that date. The intellect of Taylor was not eminently critical; he did not proceed to his conclusions with the circumspection of the careful philosopher. Still, he exhibited in all his productions an ingenious, inquisitive mind, as well as a certain affluence of learning. In the faculty of imagination he was especially gifted; and this, coupled with a melodious English, and at times also with a rich vein of devotional feeling, has given a perennial charm to his writings. Few specimens

of practical divinity have spoken more persuasively to a multitude of hearts than Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living," and "Holy Dying."

A very interesting group within the Establishment was that which is known as the Cambridge Platonists. As their name indicates, they drew largely from Platonism, though scarcely more from the original philosophy than from the later or Neo-Platonic developments. The principal members of the group were Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith, Ralph Cudworth, and Henry More. An unique position was held by these men within the circle of English thought in their century. They represent a break in the philosophical movement which started from Bacon. In contrast with the sharp division which the great advocate of the inductive method predicated between the province of reason and revelation, they emphasized greatly the vocation of reason in the sphere of religion. "To go against reason," says Whichcote, "is to go against God; it is the selfsame to do that which the reason of the case doth require, and that which God Himself doth appoint. . . . There is nothing so intrinsically rational as religion is; nothing that can so justify itself; nothing that hath so pure reason to recommend itself, as religion hath." The following noble definition includes a like idea: "Religion doth possess and affect the whole man; in the understanding it is knowledge; in the life it is obedience; in the affections it is delight in God; in our carriage and behavior it is modesty, calmness, gentleness, quietness, candor; in our dealings it is uprightness, integrity, correspondence with the rule of

righteousness.”¹ With Hobbes, who preceded as a writer most of the Cambridge school, they could of course have no fellowship whatever. Abhorring his remorseless statecraft, which left no higher sanction to religion or morals than the will of the executive, they strongly asserted the immutability of moral distinctions, their foundation in the unchanging nature of God Himself, where they are beyond the reach, even of a Divine fiat. The Cambridge Platonists stood also in contrast with Locke, who was contemporary with the later members, his “*Essay on the Human Understanding*” having been published in 1690. Locke’s idea of the relation between reason and faith was not indeed remote from their own. But in general their philosophy was broadly contrasted with his. The one relied much on intuition, and gave the primacy to the inner world, to the mind viewed as rising into contact with the Divine reason; the other emphasized induction, and regarded the materials of knowledge as coming through the senses.

Among the speculative attempts of the Cambridge school, Cudworth’s “*True Intellectual System of the Universe*” ranks as the most noteworthy. More wrote extensively, and was highly esteemed by his own party; but the eccentricities in which he indulged have much qualified his reputation in more recent times. Whichcote and Smith conciliate a special degree of favor by the readable quality of their brief productions. The latter, who died at the age of thirty-four, is represented only by ten sermons. Tulloch speaks of them in terms of enthusiastic praise, as combining a logic nearly as

¹ *Aphorisms*, 76, 457, 956.

direct and penetrating as that of Chillingworth with an imagination as opulent as Jeremy Taylor's.¹

While thus the era of the restored Stuarts was not without its distinction in the sphere of theology and philosophy, it was a marked era as respects advance in physical science. The Royal Society, which received its definite establishment in 1662, soon numbered a considerable list of members whose successful research in different fields won them lasting repute. Chief among these explorers of nature was Sir Isaac Newton, whose "*Principia*" was published in 1687.

In Scotland the age was a comparatively barren one in almost every respect. Neither sacred nor secular learning flourished. The bishops were not distinguished for culture or piety. There was, however, one marked exception. Robert Leighton gave to Scotland the example of a life which all right-thinking men have esteemed a precious legacy from that time to this. Bishop Burnet, who knew him familiarly, said of him: "He was possessed of the highest and noblest sense of Divine things that I ever saw in any man."² A recent writer remarks, in words of like praise: "As far as I can judge, a purer, humbler, holier spirit than that of Robert Leighton never tabernacled in Scottish clay."³ It is also the opinion of this reviewer, that the writings of Leighton are still to be ranked at the head of the devotional literature of Scotland.

¹ *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, ii. 135.

² *Own Time*, book ii.

³ Robert Flint in *St. Giles Lectures*, First Series.

III. — THE REIGNS OF WILLIAM III. AND ANNE.

While by act of Parliament the Prince of Orange was made joint sovereign with Mary, it was understood that the actual control of affairs should be in his hands. As Mary was supremely devoted to her husband, she accorded a ready assent to the arrangement. Her death near the end of 1694 left William the sole possessor of the regal title. His position was a practical declaration of the ultimate sovereignty of the nation over the crown. The Revolution of 1688 sealed the triumph of the principles of constitutional monarchy.

A covetous desire for the crown was not the principal motive which led William to undertake the expedition to England. Indeed, before the flight of James, there could have been no sure prospect that the nominal possession of the crown would not be continued to him. William's chief motive was borrowed rather from his connection with European affairs at large. He was the soul of the opposition to Louis XIV. He saw in the French monarch the enemy of the liberties of Europe, a man whose first ambition was to make French power dominant on every hand, and whose second ambition was to secure the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church. As an enemy of this threatening despotism, and as a friend of Protestantism, he was ready to hazard the attempt to rescue England from that unseemly vassalage to France into which the Stuarts had brought her, and to array her against the encroachments of Louis.

The circumstances under which the Revolution had been consummated, as well as the ecclesiastical antecedents of the new monarch, who had been trained in the Calvinistic Presbyterianism of the Dutch Republic, naturally dictated that some concessions should be made to the Dissenters. William, on his part, wished both to release them from all civil disabilities, and to ease their entrance into the Establishment by making some acceptable changes in the Anglican ritual and polity. But the temper of Parliament, as also of a large part of the clergy, did not permit either of these ends to be reached. As respects the comprehension scheme, a good share of the Dissenters themselves had little interest in its success. The most that was found practicable was a guarantee of the privilege of separate worship. By the Toleration Act of 1689, all Protestants taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and all Protestant ministers subscribing, in addition, to the articles of faith, were secured against penalties for attending or holding conventicles.¹ In the subsequent practice, except during an interval of High Church fervor, the privileges of the dissenting bodies were carried somewhat beyond the letter of the statute. The demand for subscription to articles of faith was not pressed. In many instances, also, Dissenters were able to enter upon offices which were legally closed against them, the passage of indemnity bills securing them against liability to the penalties prescribed in law.

¹ Provision was made for scruples by exempting all from obligation to subscribe to the 34th, 35th, and 36th articles, and a part of the 20th. The Baptists were still further exempted from the 27th article. As for the Quakers, they were only required to sign a general declaration of belief in the Trinity and the Scriptures.

As might be inferred from its terms, the Toleration Act gave no immunity to Anti-Trinitarians or to Roman Catholics. Legal inclemency against the latter was in fact aggravated by the passage of a very rigorous statute in 1700. Their supposed friendship for a Romish claimant of the throne naturally acted to their prejudice. William was not personally in favor of a severe policy, as being counter to his relations with Roman Catholic allies on the Continent; but it was no easy matter to resist the pressure of Anti-Romish animosity. According to the new statute, any priests or Jesuits, who should attempt to conduct worship or to teach school in the realm, made themselves liable to perpetual imprisonment. A reward of one hundred pounds was offered for the apprehension of such priests and Jesuits. There were also provisions directly affecting the laity. Any one sending a child abroad to be educated in the Romish religion was to forfeit one hundred pounds; and any person educated in that religion, who should not, after reaching the age of eighteen, subscribe the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the declaration against transubstantiation, was to be disqualified to inherit real estate in England. Such was the face of the statute-book in 1700, and there was no amelioration before the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Still the reign of William did not mark the beginning of worse fortunes for English Romanists. Practice was by no means kept up to a level with the rigor of the law.¹ Public sentiment lost ere long something of its

¹ "The Catholic landholders," says Hallam, "neither renounced their religion nor abandoned their inheritances. The judges put such constructions upon the clause of forfeiture as eluded its efficacy; and, I believe,

asperity, and the theory of religious tolerance found a growing acceptance. Thus, as a representative writer among English Romanists has stated, a foundation was laid for a more indulgent policy.¹ In sustaining the theory of religious tolerance, no one rendered a more conspicuous service than John Locke. His "Letters concerning Toleration" constitute a plea for religious liberty which has rarely been equalled. The principles laid down therein are essentially identical with those embodied in the Constitution of the American Republic. The State, it is maintained, has no just prerogative to prescribe the faith and worship of the individual. The sphere of belief lies beyond the range of coercion and legal restraint. "Laws are of no force at all without penalties, and penalties in this case are absolutely impertinent; because they are not proper to convince the mind." As for the Church, being but a free and vol-

there were scarce any instances of a loss of property under the law. It has been said, and, I doubt not, with justice, that the Catholic gentry, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, were as a separated and half-proscribed class among their equals, their civil exclusion hanging over them in the intercourse of general society; but their notorious, though not unnatural, disaffection to the reigning family, will account for much of this, and their religion was undoubtedly exercised with little disguise or apprehension." (Constitutional History, chap. xv.)

¹ "The reign of William III." says Charles Butler, "so far as it particularly affected his Roman Catholic subjects, is remarkable on this account, that, while the attachment which they were supposed to entertain for the exiled family rendered their allegiance to his Majesty suspected, and thus furnished a new pretence for the prosecution of them, the spirit of religious liberty, which had for some time been gaining ground in several parts of Europe, began to operate in their favor, and thus rendered the reign of this monarch, though some new laws were enacted in it against them, the era from which the commencement of their enjoyment of religious toleration may be dated." (Historical Memoirs, iii. 122.)

untary society within the commonwealth, while it may fix the terms of its fellowship, it has nothing to do with the civil status of its members, and can properly inflict, or require, no further penalty than excommunication. In short, Locke provided in his leading propositions as broad a platform for religious tolerance as could be desired. It is true that in their application he affirmed some restrictions, but they were only such as in his judgment were required by political safety. He deemed that those who were licensed by their creed to break faith with heretics, who confessed a superior allegiance to a foreign potentate, and who could naturally make use of religious freedom for themselves only to destroy it for others, had no claim to toleration. He also thought that atheists had no valid title to toleration, since by denying the existence of God they rob oaths and covenants of the necessary sanction, and accordingly weaken, to a dangerous extent, the bond of civil obligations. In both cases it was rather the necessary safeguards of the perpetuity of the State that he had in mind, than the deserts of mere opinions.

During the reign of William, distinctions within the Established Church which had been quite marked since the closing part of the sixteenth century came to be currently designated by the terms High Church and Low Church. The terms had then nearly the same meaning as now. The High Churchman had no charity for Dissenters, and laid immense stress upon episcopal succession and the Anglican ritual. The Low Churchman, while he considered his own polity the best, was willing to allow the Christian character and standing of those who differed from him, and for the sake of

union would not hesitate to sacrifice some matters of form.

As to numbers, the clergy of the Low Church were greatly in the minority. "We should probably overrate their numerical strength, if we were to estimate them at a tenth part of the priesthood. Yet it will scarcely be denied that there were among them as many men of distinguished eloquence and learning as could be found in the other nine tenths. Among the laity who conformed to the established religion, the parties were not unevenly balanced."¹

As a considerable number of the bishops refused to accept the political settlement of the Revolution, and fell into the ranks of the Nonjurors, or those declining the oath of allegiance, the government had opportunity to fill the bishoprics very largely with men of liberal principles. The result was a peculiar combination of ecclesiastical factors. While the great body of the lower clergy was High Church in principle, the bishops were generally Low Church, — a fact distinctly appearing in the complete lack of harmony between the Lower and the Upper House of Convocation.² An honored place among the liberal or latitudinarian bishops was held by Tillotson, whom William advanced to the see of Canterbury. Moderate in opinion, gentle and conciliatory in temper, and dowered with a good measure of common sense, he won an extraordinary degree of good will wherever personal considerations were not offset by political or eccle-

¹ Macaulay, chap. xi.

² After its prorogation, in 1717 or 1718, Convocation ceased to have any real existence, and did not again resume its proper functions till 1852. (J. W. Joyce, *Acts of the Church*.)

siastical animosity. In his own time, and for a generation or two later, he was esteemed a prince of sermonizers. The warrant for this reputation, however, is not very apparent in the present. The sermons of Tillotson are indeed lucid and simple in style, and abound in judicious thoughts; but they can boast neither vivacity nor elevation. They move on a uniform plane. While they pay the due regard to natural ethics, they scarcely show an adequate sympathy with the supernatural side of Christianity, and appeal in too large a proportion of instances to merely prudential considerations. Along with Tillotson we may place his friend and eulogist, Bishop Gilbert Burnet, who, if he did not equal him in discretion, was equally broad and tolerant. Ever in the front of affairs, busy with tongue and pen, meddlesome in the view of many, he earned a special share of Jacobite and High Church hatred. But in spite of the broad stream of detraction which pursued his name, he won a secure title to esteem, as an honest patriot, an industrious author, and a faithful shepherd of souls. Burnet died in 1715. About that date a younger contemporary of his, Benjamin Hoadly, who was made Bishop of Bangor directly after the accession of George I., was attracting attention as an able champion of Low Church principles. No representative of the Episcopal clergy of that age carried liberal maxims farther, or supported them with a more incisive logic. Like Archbishop Whately and others of the Broad Church in recent times, he resolutely cast overboard the theory of a necessary apostolic succession. "God is just and equal and good," he wrote in 1716, "and as sure as He is so, He cannot put the salvation and happiness of any man upon what He Him-

self hath put out of the power of any man upon earth to be entirely satisfied in. . . . It hath not pleased God in His Providence to keep up any proof of the least probability, or moral possibility, of a regular uninterrupted succession. But there is great appearance, and, humanly speaking, a certainty of the contrary, that this succession hath been often interrupted.”¹ In a sermon before the King the next year he used expressions which seemed equally to limit the dignity and the authority of the hierarchy. “As the Church of Christ,” he said, “is the kingdom of Christ, He Himself is King; and in this it is implied that He is Himself the sole Lawgiver to His subjects, and Himself the sole judge of their behavior, in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation. And in this sense therefore His kingdom is not of this world: that He hath, in those points left behind Him, no visible human authority; no vicegerent, who can be said properly to supply His place; no interpreters upon whom His subjects are absolutely to depend; no judges over the consciences or religion of His people.”² This sermon provoked a fury of resentment in the High Church party, and an almost unprecedented war of pamphlets ensued.

The intimate connection between political and ecclesiastical interests which characterized the Revolution continued through the early part of the eighteenth century. Party ascendancy in the State depended much upon successful dealing with the affairs of the Church. The zealots in the latter were too powerful to be ignored;

¹ A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors both in Church and State.

² Sermon on John xviii. 36.

it was necessary to consult and to mollify them, if not to follow their behests.

The two great parties in the State were the Whigs and the Tories,¹ as the two great divisions of the Church were the Low Church and the High Church. The Low Church in general affiliated with the Whigs, and the High Church with the Tories. The country gentry favored the Tories; the commercial classes and the Dissenters sided with the Whigs. During the interval covered by the last days of William and by the reign of Anne (1702–1714), there was a rapid fluctuation in the fortunes of political parties. But with the accession of George I. there began an era of decided Whig ascendancy. This continued with little intermission for forty-five years. On the accession of George III. (1760), the balance turned in favor of the Tories, and the administration was mainly in the hands of that party during the remainder of the century, as well as in the early part of the present century.

One fact which contributed not a little to the political fever during the first decades of the eighteenth century was the insecurity of the settlement effected by the Revolution of 1688. Indeed, that Revolution can hardly be said to have reached a secure tenure until the middle of the next century. The Stuarts, it is true, had been driven out. But they wished to come back; and while one party viewed the prospect of their return with utter dread, there was another party which was little, if at all, disquieted by the idea of their return, and another

¹ Terms of opprobrium originally, the one designed to associate the party to whom it was applied with fanatical Scotch Covenanters, and the other being equivalent to Irish outlaws or bog-trotters.

party still, and that by no means limited to Romanists, which earnestly desired their return. Great as were the services which William of Orange had rendered to England, he was far from winning the whole nation to a cordial acceptance of the change of dynasty. William himself was aware of this, if we may judge from his bitter remark respecting the two great parties, that all the difference he knew between them was, "that the Tories would cut his throat in the morning, and the Whigs in the afternoon." The antipathy which was felt toward the exiled James could act only with modified force against the son who became heir to his claims in 1701. The Jacobites accordingly were no inconsiderable faction. "The Tory party under Queen Anne was to a great extent, and under George I. was almost exclusively Jacobite."¹ Even some of the Whig party are credited with a prudent attention to the contingency of a Stuart restoration. Many, however, who were implicated in Jacobite negotiations, were unwilling to run any great risk for the dethroned house. Their conduct shows simply that they were not at heart altogether opposed to the return of the Stuarts. In the view of prominent writers, Jacobite scheming in the closing days of Anne stood a fair chance of success, and might have won the day had not the death of the Queen occurred before the plans of those who were plotting a restoration had been matured.

Under the impulse of Tory and High Church zeal there was an outburst of intolerant endeavor in the reign of Anne, which threatened the privileges even of those Dissenters who were under the Toleration Act of 1689.

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, i. 3.

Tokens of the coming storm were apparent immediately after the accession of Anne. "The high party," says the Nonconformist minister Calamy, "soon grew triumphant, and thought of nothing less than carrying all before them. . . . In several parts of the country, they talked of pulling down the meeting-houses, as places not fit to be suffered. In one town (Newcastle-under-Lyne) they actually went to work as soon as ever the tidings of the King's death reached them."¹ Sermons and tracts helped to swell the animosity against the intractable schismatics. A hint as to the tone of some of these sermons may be derived from a remark of Jortin, which applies to the reign of Anne, or that immediately following. He says: "I heard Dr. B. say in a sermon, 'If any one denies the uninterrupted succession of bishops, I shall not scruple to call him an atheist.' This, when I was young, was sound, orthodox, and fashionable doctrine."² A similar sentiment crops out in one of the Church cries of the era:—

"Join, Churchmen, join, no longer separate,
Lest you repent it when it is too late.
Low Church is no Church."

"Swift humorously declares that even the cats and the dogs were infected with the Whig and Tory animosity. The very ladies were divided into High Church and Low; and 'out of zeal for religion had hardly time to say their prayers.'"³ So far were some of the hot-headed carried in their blind zeal, that De Foe's satirical pamphlet,

¹ *Own Life, and Abridgment of Baxter's Life.*

² Quoted by Lecky, i. 96.

³ Leslie Stephen's *Swift*.

"The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," advising their extirpation from the realm, was taken by them in earnest. At length, matters were brought to a crisis through the Sacheverell fracas. This Sacheverell was a rather clever ecclesiastical demagogue, who delivered some very radical harangues in 1709. A sermon which he preached before the Lord Mayor in St. Paul's contained this gentle description of Dissenters:—"These false brethren in our government do not singly and in private shed their poison, but, what is lamentable to be spoken, are suffered to combine into bodies and seminaries, wherein atheism, deism, tritheism, Arianism, with all the hellish principles of fanaticism, regicide, and anarchy are openly professed and taught, to corrupt and debauch the youth of the nation in all parts of it down to posterity, to the present reproach and future extirpation of our laws and religion. Certainly the Toleration was never intended to indulge and cherish such monsters and vipers in our bosom, that scatter their pestilence at our doors, and will rend, distract, and confound the best constitution in the world."¹ This sermon, widely circulated, created a great furor. The Whig administration took offence, and unwisely made a hero of the demagogue by bringing him to trial. The light sentence which was secured was looked upon as equivalent to acquittal. A Tory and High Church rally was made, and the Whig party was thrown out of power. Legislation was now sharpened against Dissenters. The Occasional Conformity Bill was passed (1711), designed to abolish the practice of qualifying for office by occasionally receiving the sacrament ac-

¹ Waddington, *Congregational History*, 1700-1800.

according to the Anglican ritual. The bill provided that any attendance at a conventicle should disqualify one for holding any place of trust or profit. Another act, the so called Schism Act, was designed to overthrow the seminaries of the Dissenters. With the exception of a narrow field, it closed the teaching vocation against all who should not conform to the Established Church. August 1st, 1714, was fixed upon as the day when the Schism Act should go into effect. "It is related that on that morning Burnet met Bradbury, the minister of the great Independent chapel in Fetter Lane, walking through Smithfield with slow steps, and with an absent and dejected air. 'I was thinking,' he said, in reply to the greeting of the bishop, 'whether I shall have the constancy and resolution of the martyrs who suffered in this spot, for I most assuredly expect to see similar times of violence and persecution.'"¹ Such was the prospect for Dissenters, as viewed by a prominent representative. But on that very day the Queen died. Under her successor, George I., High Church zeal had to submit to a curb. It indulged itself, to be sure, with the luxury of pulling down some of the chapels of its foes; but its opportunity was gone, and the persecuting legislation of the preceding reign was soon repealed.

The actor who showed the most striking genius in the politico-ecclesiastical strife of this era was undoubtedly Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's after 1713. His genius, however, was not one which ran very deep or high. An aptitude for vivid description and a surprising faculty for satire were its chief characteristics. In his attitude toward the Revolution settlement, Swift

¹ *Locky*, i. 224.

was a sufficiently stanch Whig ; but his High Church preferences and overmastering hatred of Presbyterianism naturally drove him into co-operation with the Tories.

The outburst of popular fervor, in the reign of Anne, in behalf of the Established Church, was by no means accompanied by an equally warm esteem for the clergy of that Church. The tone of the periodical literature of the time toward clergymen in general was noticeably lacking in genuine friendliness and respect. Many of the clergy, moreover, enjoyed no enviable position as respects temporal support. Hundreds of livings did not yield more than twenty or thirty pounds a year. This defect, however, was in some degree remedied by the bounty of Queen Anne, and as the century went on the condition of the humbler ranks of the clergy was improved.

In Scotland, the Revolution of 1688 at once overturned episcopacy as a feature of the national Establishment. This was due largely to the attitude of the bishops and many of the clergy connected with them toward the Revolution. They were unfriendly to the cause of William of Orange. Only two days before his landing at Torbay, the Scotch bishops were engaged in preparing a letter to James II., in which they addressed him as the "darling of Heaven." But for their evident Jacobitism, William might have been inclined to favor a moderate episcopacy in Scotland, inasmuch as the parishes were manned with Episcopalian incumbents, and a sweeping change would naturally involve special difficulties. As it was, however, he was not slow in

making up his mind to gratify the predominant desire of the people for the presbyterian polity. The clergy who had been settled under the episcopalian régime were allowed to retain their positions, on condition of acknowledging the existing government in the manner prescribed. Nearly two hundred were immediately displaced as failing to meet this condition, and others were deposed in the ensuing years. Those who conformed were merged more or less completely in the Establishment. So it came about in a short time that Presbyterianism substantially possessed the field.

In 1707, the union of England and Scotland being then consummated, the ecclesiastical affairs of the latter came under the supervision of the Parliament of Great Britain. In 1712, an act of toleration was passed in favor of Scotch Episcopalians, who should take the oaths. As for the bishops and their nonjuring adherents, being regarded as an appendage to the exiled Stuarts, they received but little grace. Laws were enacted prohibiting them from holding service, except before a single household and a very few persons additional. Not till 1788 was the Stuart cause definitely abandoned by the Scotch bishops. The oaths being no longer refused, toleration was enjoyed by Scotch Episcopalians generally, and was distinctly guaranteed by acts of 1792. From this time there was a tendency to drop the special features by which the Episcopal communion had been distinguished in Scotland. Displaced by the Anglican forms and articles, its old simplicity of ritual and Calvinistic creed scarcely claimed recognition even as facts of history.

The settlement effected at the Revolution was not

agreeable to all the Presbyterians. The recognition of the Westminster Confession, and the limitations put upon patronage in the settling of ministers, were features that commanded general approbation. But, on the other hand, the neglect to stipulate distinctly the right of the Assembly to call its own meetings involved, in the view of many, a dangerous dependence upon the State. In the opinion of a zealous faction, there was also another serious defect. To the Cameronians, or Covenanters, the failure to insist upon the National Covenant appeared as a criminal sacrifice of principle to a false expediency. They refused to join with those who had so tamely abandoned the ark of their testimony. Though their pastors forsook them to join the Establishment, they continued to assert their principles. Their independent position was maintained till 1876, when they united with the Free Church of Scotland.

The failure of James II. and Tyrconnel in Ireland left the majority of her people under the shadow of civil and religious proscription. The century which followed the battle of the Boyne may have been a century of comparative peace in the island; it was, however, the peace of despair rather than of contentment. The hand of oppression was felt none the less because there was no hope or courage to attempt its removal. But the story of that century may best be given in a continuous outline, and will therefore be taken up from the Revolution settlement in the next period.¹

¹ A like motive has constrained us also to defer two important topics of English history, the Nonjurors and the Deistical Controversy.

CHAPTER III.

PROTESTANTISM IN GERMANY AND THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

I. — INDIVIDUAL EXCEPTIONS TO THE CURRENT DOGMATISM.

THE controversial fever which broke out among the German Protestants before the death of Luther issued in a long reign of dogmatism. The elaborate and artificial "Formula of Concord," adopted in 1577 as a bulwark of Lutheran orthodoxy, was typical of the spirit which dominated the Lutheran communion for the next century. The religious ideal receded behind the dogmatic. Zeal in defending the perfect creed took the place of ambition to lead the perfect life. While Rome's pretended exemption from error was energetically denounced, a stress was laid upon the Lutheran symbols that amounted wellnigh to a practical assumption of their infallibility; and in the Reformed Church dogmatic zeal and stubbornness were not very far behind the same qualities among the Lutherans, at least in the early part of the seventeenth century.

This rage for dogma was not wholly unfruitful. A degree of intellectual prestige pertains to the work of which it was the mainspring. As one opens the ponderous tomes of the era, he is reminded of the industry

and logical dexterity of the mediæval scholastics.¹ But the gain to religion was inconsiderable, and even to theology as a system the gain was by no means equal to the display of labor and skill. Like their prototypes, these modern scholastics were often too easy in their assumption of premises, and built up massive superstructures on unreliable foundations.

While the dogmatic temper was in the ascendant, it did not hold an exclusive place. All through the era, as Tholuck has been at pains to show,² there were men in all the different ranks who made piety chiefly a matter of the heart and the life.

Among those who directly or indirectly reprov'd the dogmatic tendency, the mystics are to be numbered. Here belong Valentine Weigel (1533–1588) and Jacob Böhme (1575–1624). As Weigel conceived, inward illumination exceeds all outward means of spiritual knowledge. The intuitions of a heart quietly submissive to the will of God reach far higher than the discursive reasoning of the theologian. Contact with the books of men is contact with the creature. The soul must be touched by the immediate presence of God to gain the true insight. With this stress upon the subjective side of religion, which led him to a relative disparagement of the sacraments, Weigel joined some elements of theosophic speculation. The same combination appeared in Böhme, with this distinction, however, that the faculty of

¹ Among the representative dogmatists were John Gerhard, König, Dannhauer, Calov, Quenstedt, Baier, and Hollaz. By common consent Gerhard is reckoned as the greatest in the list. He has also the further distinction of having been something more than a dogmatist.

² *Lebenszeugen der Lutherischen Kirche aus allen Ständen vor und während der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Kriegs.*

vision was more pronounced in the inspired shoemaker than in the Lutheran pastor. Indeed, Böhme ranks as the prince of modern theosophists. Men like Schelling and Franz von Baader have not disdained to follow him as a chosen guide in traversing the high mysteries of God and nature. In this dim region most inquirers will ask for a better guidance than Böhme affords. But all can appreciate the spirit revealed in both the writings and the life of the man, — his gentleness, his patience under persecution, his simplicity of heart, his fervent devotion. All will agree that the serenity of the closing experience only added a harmonious feature to the record of his Christ-like living. On the morning of his last day, he asked his son whether he heard the beautiful music. As the son answered in the negative, he said the door should be opened that the song might better be heard. At the moment of departure he exclaimed, "Now I go hence into Paradise."

While theosophic mysticism was thus making its contribution, a less doubtful aid was furnished to the cause of inward piety by men who took a humbler flight into the region of speculation and devoted themselves mainly to practical effort. In this class John Arndt (1551–1621), John Valentine Andreä (1586–1654), and Christian Scriver (1629–1693) held an eminent place.

The mysticism of John Arndt was of that temperate character which any one who has entered into the spirit of the New Testament will have little inclination to criticise. Christianity meant to him a power which renews the heart and purifies the life. This conception he diligently enforced from the pulpit. It was by his writings, however, that his influence was carried abroad

and made wellnigh universal. His "True Christianity," translated into many languages, has brought a benediction to unnumbered homes. A statement which he himself makes as to the purpose of this work may be regarded as a good expression of his principles and aims. "I have designed," he says, "in the first place, to turn back the minds of students and preachers from the excessively disputatious and controversial theology, out of which there has wellnigh grown a *Theologia Scholastica*. In the second place, I have purposed to lead believers in Christ from the dead faith to the fruit-bearing. Thirdly, to bring them from the mere science and the theory to the real exercise and enjoyment of faith and salvation; and fourthly, to show what the right Christian life is, which is in harmony with the true faith, and what is meant when the apostle says, 'I live, and yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.'"¹

Whether the life or the writings of Arndt be considered, there seems very little material at hand for the most captious fault-finder to feed upon. His death, too, was one of calm and holy triumph. Yet so strong was the disposition of the age to curse everything that was not cast in the established dogmatic mould, that maledictions were hurled against even this saintly minister of Christ. Said a brother minister, from his pulpit: "May Satan give to Arndt the reward of his works; I have no desire to go after death where Arndt has gone."

Andreä had the same principles at heart as his distinguished predecessor, from whom he received a very positive incentive. Like Arndt, he used his pen to good

¹ Quoted by Hagenbach, *Kirchengeschichte*, iv. 399.

effect, as well as his voice. His writings indicate a faculty for humor in conjunction with an unfailing religious earnestness. They contain no signs of any essential departure from Lutheran orthodoxy; yet Christ and Christianity are their theme, rather than sect or creed.

A kindred breadth appears in the writings of Christian Scriver. His principal work, the "Soul's Treasure," is a somewhat elaborate compendium of religious and moral teaching; but, while it compares in length with the ordinary dogmatic systems of the time, it is quite distinguished from them in its warmth of feeling and its tribute to experience.

An efficient ally of these men was found in Paul Gerhard (1606-1676). He was, it is true, a staunch adherent of Lutheran orthodoxy, and manifested an extra degree of scrupulosity respecting his obligations to his creed. His work, nevertheless, as being that of a master hymnist, was of a catholic tendency, and ministered to earnest piety in all communions.

Somewhat of a dissolvent of dogmatic rigor was provided by Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714). Believing that historians had gone far astray by acting as special pleaders for their own systems of dogma and church polity, and by neglecting the true glory of Christianity as a transforming power in the life of the individual, he sought to prepare a corrective. The result was embodied in his "Impartial History of the Church and of Heresies." This work subserved a useful purpose as emphasizing very important phases in the ideal of an ecclesiastical history. At the same time, the tone of Arnold's treatise hardly corresponded to the title. The boasted *impartiality* passed over into a kind of par-

tiality for the heretics as opposed to their Catholic adversaries.

Arnold received a special incentive to his task from the exhortations of Christian Thomasius (1655-1728). This distinguished jurist, whose opposition to prosecutions for witchcraft and to torture entitle him to thankful remembrance, was a man of a different stamp from most of those whom we have characterized above. He sympathized indeed with their preference for vital piety over mere orthodoxy, but he was not so deeply penetrated as they with the evangelical spirit. More afraid of superstition than of unbelief, he prefigured in some measure the rationalism which began to invade Germany soon after his death.¹

Having characterized some of the individual exponents of practical piety and liberal sentiments, it remains now to direct our attention to men whom history connects more directly with an ecclesiastical party.

II. — CALIXTUS AND THE SYNCRETISTS.

A very positive reaction against the rigidity of the current orthodoxy was represented by George Calixtus (1586-1656). The University of Helmstedt, at which he began to teach theology in 1614, shared very largely

¹ In somewhat singular contrast with his liberal bias in general, Thomasius held a very illiberal theory of church government. The ecclesiastical supremacy which he accorded to the sovereign hardly fell short of that which Henry VIII. had arrogated to himself over the Church of England. To be sure, he expected that the sovereign would use his prerogatives rather to check the rabid dogmatists and to promote tolerance, than to repress legitimate freedom. But in his theory itself there was no safeguard for such freedom, no defence against despotism.

in his sentiments, and remained the head-quarters of the Syncretists, as his party came to be called.

Calixtus, through natural breadth and kindliness of temper, and also by reason of his extensive intercourse, in his travels, with men of different communions, had become imbued with large charity toward theological differences. This charity was not carried by him to the extreme of indifferentism. For himself, he preferred Lutheranism, at least in the great majority of its tenets. But he considered it entirely without warrant to make Lutheran orthodoxy the test of Christian character. It was clear to his mind that genuine Christians were to be found in all the great communions, the Roman Catholic included. So far as the demands of personal salvation are concerned, he was free to maintain that nothing more is essential than a general assent to the authority of the Bible, and the acceptance of the Apostles' Creed; and for the Church at large he thought that it was only necessary to add the creeds of the first five centuries, in order to secure an adequate dogmatic platform. He was sanguine enough to entertain the hope that all Christians,—Lutheran, Reformed, and Romish,—might be united upon the basis of such a belief, or at least be brought into relations of mutual and friendly recognition. In particular, he considered the differences between the Lutherans and the Reformed too immaterial to justify their separate and antagonistic positions.

In proportion as Calixtus withdrew stress from Christianity as a creed, he laid it upon Christianity as a means of righteous living. The theologian, he says, should imitate Socrates. As the practical Greek brought down philosophy from heaven, and made it subserve

the good of men, so the theologian should render his teaching an efficient aid to the conduct of life. In token of his interest in the ethical side of Christianity, he departed from the customary arrangement, and set Christian ethics apart as a branch worthy of a distinct treatment.

To the sticklers for orthodoxy the scheme of Calixtus naturally seemed an open road to indifferentism, a base and weak-minded surrender of Christianity. Mutterings of opposition began to be heard. Especially obnoxious was the part which he took in the disputation of Thorn (1645), at which, by the invitation of the Polish King, Lutherans, Reformed, and Romanists were convened for an amicable consideration of their differences, and for discovering, if possible, a ground of union. The courtesy which Calixtus showed to the other communions was looked upon by the Lutherans as a base apostasy from the true faith. A flood of treatises and sermons full of personalities and bitter accusations was poured upon Calixtus and the Syncretists. The strife outlived him who had been its unwilling cause.

The merits of Calixtus as a man were of a high order. He was scholarly, genial, and large-hearted; but as a would be reformer of the Church, he can hardly be awarded unqualified praise. In his anxiety for union he did not sufficiently regard differences between communions. At least, he does not seem to have laid sufficient stress upon the absolute revolution through which alone Romanism could come to a union with Protestantism. To the Romanist, with his belief in an infallible Church, Protestantism can seem nothing less than a wicked rebellion against legitimate authority. To the

Protestant, Romanism, especially as centring in the Papacy, can appear nothing less than one of the most stupendous examples of organized falsehood which is known to history. Individuals in the one Church can value those of the other for the indubitable tokens of moral worth which they may find in them; but to seek any closer connection between Protestants and Romanists in general than a relation of mutual tolerance, is to seek that for which no consistent basis can possibly be found.

The results of the efforts of Calixtus may be viewed with reference to three different classes. Those already inclined to a rigid sectarianism were made all the more rigid by the work of opposing what they considered his dangerous license and indifferentism in matters of doctrine. One of this number, John Heinzelmänn, went so far as to deal out from the pulpit such wholesale cursing as the following: "We condemn the Catholics, the Calvinists, and also the Helmstedt party. In a word, whoever is not Lutheran is accursed. I know well that I say this in the face of danger of life and limb, but I am a servant of Christ."¹

Upon another class the teachings of Calixtus had an opposite effect, and helped them onward to an abandonment of their old faith and an acceptance of Romanism. During and immediately after the Syncretistic controversies, a very considerable number of persons of note passed over to the Roman Catholic Church. This defection cannot be charged wholly to the account of Calixtus. Weariness of endless contention on points of theology inclined some to look to a Church which

¹ Hagenbach, *Kirchengeschichte*, v. 157.

assumed to speak decisively and infallibly upon such matters, as to a refuge. Yet it cannot well be denied that the teachings of Calixtus reinforced the impulse thus engendered. They assured those who were looking toward Rome that mere dogmas are not of the highest concern, and that in the Romish communion a Christian character could be successfully maintained.

Upon a third class the efforts of Calixtus wrought with beneficent effect, inclining them to a rational liberality in the treatment of theological opponents, to a due weighing of the ethical side of Christianity, and to a departure from the methods and spirit of an ultra dogmatism.

The union project of Calixtus, so far as it was related to the Roman Catholic Church, received, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, considerable attention from Molanus, a leading disciple of the Helmstedt theologian in Hannover. Considering that a plan of agreement might be devised, Molanus listened to the overtures of Romish representatives, and entered into correspondence with Bossuet. Later, the negotiations were taken up by Leibnitz. As a clearer insight might have made known from the start would be the result, no real approach was made toward the discovery of a common ground.

III. — SPENER AND THE PIETISTS.

Were Pietism to be judged solely by its founder, none but the most captious and spiritually insensible could find ground for censure. Philip Jacob Spener, in his principles, his temper, and his conduct, was a worthy

example of the Christian reformer. Earnest, but free from fanaticism, patient and undaunted in the face of opposition, he was well fitted to guide those already longing after better things, and to awaken such as were still satisfied with their formalism.

Spener was born in 1635. His forty years of pastoral labor were divided chiefly between Frankfurt (1666), Dresden (1686), and Berlin (1691-1705). During his twenty years' stay at Frankfurt his principles were substantially completed and made known to the world. Great care was expended by him upon the catechetical education of the children. In the pulpit he avoided the artificial and cumbrous style characteristic of the age, and sought only the clear exposition and effectual application of the truths of the Bible. He did not depreciate dogmatic distinctions, but held that they should be subordinated to the great aim of personal renovation and holiness. "From the regeneration of the individual, in the genuine old apostolic sense, Spener expected the regeneration of the Church, and with it the coming of peace."¹ His ministry conducted on this plan was, on the whole, eminently successful. Some in his congregation at Frankfurt, it is true, were offended at the directness and the searching character of his preaching. But others were most wholesomely awakened. A number of this class initiated the custom of gathering Sunday afternoons in order to review the sermon of the day, study the Bible, and by conversation on holy things encourage each other in the Christian life. Spener heartily welcomed this evidence of religious interest; but to insure the safe and profitable conduct of these

¹ Hagenbach, *Kirchengeschichte*, v. 193.

gatherings, he thought it advisable to be present himself, and to assume the leadership. Under his management the time was mainly occupied with the exposition and practical application of the Scriptures. All discussions of a merely controversial nature were studiously avoided, and upbuilding in piety was made the great aim. Thus originated the so called *Collegia Pietatis* (1670). The institution was copied elsewhere, and became characteristic of Pietism.

In 1678, Spener gave a wide publicity to his reform principles by the publication of his noted work, *Pia Desideria*. The chief maxims embraced in this were the following: "That the Word of God should be brought home to the popular heart; that laymen, when capable and pious, should act as preachers, thus becoming a valuable ally of the ministry; that deep love and practical piety are a necessity to every preacher; that kindness, moderation, and an effort to convince, should be observed toward theological opponents; that great efforts should be made to have worthy and divinely called young men properly instructed for the ministry; and that all preachers should urge upon the people the importance of faith and its fruits."

The teachings of Spener were soon the object of bitter attack. The Wittenberg faculty charged him with an appalling list of two hundred and eighty-three errors. His scheme was declared to be unchurchly, anti-Lutheran in the stress which it placed upon good works over against justification by faith, depreciatory of the sacraments, and infected with mysticism and fanaticism. In opposition to his subjective piety, with its emphasis upon the living presence of the Holy

Spirit in the believer's heart, his opponents, at least the more extreme among them, assigned an efficacy to priestly functions and to sacraments which involved a species of deism, a substitution of the second cause for the first as thorough-going as is implied in any of the postulates of Romanism.

Pietism was also assailed with the charge of undue asceticism. But, so far as Spener is concerned, asceticism was hardly carried beyond an appropriate seriousness and sobriety of life. His opposition to the current amusements may be referred in part to the excess to which they were often carried. He discountenanced dancing and theatre-going, not as being sinful in themselves, but as being in the existing state of things almost universally accessory to dissipation. At the same time he thought that practices of this nature were to be cured not so much by violent denunciation as by nurturing the spirit which should make such diversions no longer coveted. On this subject Spener stood in favorable contrast with some of his followers, who were too much inclined to interpret any participation in these amusements as sure evidence of impiety, and to magnify the virtue of abstinence from them; and in no less favorable contrast to the extremists of the opposing party, who became actually disposed to regard dancing and theatre-going as good signs of orthodoxy.

Near the time that Spener was called to Dresden, two young men had begun to attract attention in Leipzig, where they were serving as private instructors. These were August Hermann Francke and Paul Anton, who were afterward joined by J. C. Schade. Much of the spirit of Spener, with whom they had communication,

was in these men. Their exegetical lectures and Bible readings came to be largely attended by the students of the University. Some of the professors in consequence lost patronage. Opposition became virulent; a partisan investigation was instituted; the lectures of the young men were prohibited, and with the jurist Thomasius, who volunteered to serve as their advocate, they were obliged to leave Leipzig.

The exclusion from the University of Leipzig was no disaster to the Pietists, for it resulted in the origination of a university in their interest. At the suggestion of Thomasius, the Elector of Brandenburg founded the University of Halle. The theological faculty was selected in accordance with the pleasure of Spener, and consisted of Francke, Anton, and Breithaupt. Besides fulfilling the duties of professor and pastor, Francke found time for building and superintending the institution which, in particular, has immortalized his name, the Orphan House at Halle.

In the generations that followed Spener and Francke, Pietism lost somewhat of its original virtue. If it still produced the true wheat, it admitted a larger admixture of tares than heretofore. The outward form of devotion without the heart, a spirit of pharisaical assumption and separatism, an undue depreciation of philosophy, and a lack of sympathy with ordinary human interests, characterized too many of its adherents.

But, on the whole, Pietism was a blessing to Germany and to Christendom. "The spirit of the School of Spener," says Gieseler, "abode for a long time, especially at Halle, and extended itself thence over a large part of Germany. It has the unquestionable merit of having

revived Bible study, of having directed theology back to its Scriptural foundation, from which it had been too widely severed by the cultivation of polemics, and of having made religion again a matter of the heart and will, at a time when it had been degraded almost entirely to a matter of the understanding.”¹ The widespread effects of Pietism are thus described by Hurst: “The theological instruction of Francke and his coadjutors in the University of Halle was very influential. During the first thirty years of its history six thousand and thirty-four theologians were trained within its walls, not to speak of the multitudes who received a thorough academic and religious instruction in the Orphan House. The Oriental Theological College, established in connection with the University, promoted the study of Biblical languages, and originated the first critical edition of the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, it founded missions to the Jews and Mohammedans. From Halle streams of new life flowed out until there were traces of reawakening throughout Europe. First the large cities gave signs of returning faith, and the universities which were most bitter against Spener were influenced by the power of the teachings of his immediate successors.”²

IV. — ZINZENDORF AND THE MORAVIANS.

It hardly comes within the bounds of the period to give an account of Zinzendorf. Yet he was so related to Pietism in his early years, and gave origin to a movement bearing such marks of kinship with that of Spener,

¹ Kirchengeschichte, 1648-1814, § 45.

² History of Rationalism, p. 97.

that it is only natural to make a brief reference to his history and work in this connection.

Count Zinzendorf belonged to a family which had long been distinguished in Austria by wealth and honorable positions, and had been raised to the nobility by Leopold I. His grandfather held the Protestant faith, and the free enjoyment of his faith was a leading motive for the emigration of the family from their fatherland. Zinzendorf was born at Dresden, in 1700. The death of his father, while he was yet an infant, left him in the care of his grandmother. At her house he received the blessing of Spener, who was a warm friend of the family. When ten years of age he passed under the tuition of Francke in the Royal Grammar School at Halle. Later, he studied at Wittenberg. As was customary for young nobles, he put the finishing touch upon his education by a tour through the principal countries of the Continent. In 1721 he accepted the position of a royal counsellor at law, in connection with the government in Dresden. This was contrary to his inclination. His emphatic preference was for religious work. From early childhood his love and zeal had been drawn toward the person of Jesus Christ, and it was his most ardent ambition to give his life to His special service. Even during the term of his civil employment, he took opportunity to signalize his devotion, and every Sunday gathered congregations in Dresden for religious instruction.

Meanwhile new opportunities for religious enterprise were provided. These opportunities were in large part an inheritance from the labors and martyrdom of John Huss. Shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century

the Hussite movement had given origin to the United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), a distinct communion located principally in Bohemia and Moravia. This brotherhood is supposed to have numbered one hundred and fifty thousand members at the beginning of the Lutheran revolt. Their teachings approximated to the Reformation standpoint. Accordingly, as has been intimated,¹ they soon entered into friendly relations with the Protestant leaders. They continued to be a considerable body till the seventeenth century, when the fury of the Thirty Years' War and the strokes of special persecutions reduced them to a remnant.

In 1722 a small company of the United Brethren, or Moravians, as they are frequently called, emigrated from Moravia under the leadership of Christian David, and found, according to previous arrangement, an asylum on the estates of Zinzendorf in Lusatia. The town which they built here received the name of Herrnhut. Others of their own brethren, and representatives of various religious parties, soon joined the new community. To unify these various elements, and to form them into an elect community of Christ, became now the special task of Zinzendorf. Though not at this time in full sympathy with Pietism, being less inclined to regard the austere side of religion, he seems still to have entertained the Pietistic idea that the most feasible method of reforming the Church was by special associations, within the Church, of the pre-eminently religious.

In 1727, Zinzendorf gave up his position at Dresden, in order to live among the Brethren. A few years later, he sought and obtained clerical ordination, and in 1737

¹ Page 364.

received episcopal ordination at the hands of a Moravian bishop in Berlin. As the head of the Moravian Brotherhood, he labored with untiring perseverance in its interests, till his death in 1760. A ten years' banishment from Saxony was cheerfully endured. Moravian societies were gathered in many different countries. The travels of Zinzendorf extended as far as England, the West Indies, and North America. Numerous missions were established for the conversion of the heathen. It seems to have been the exigencies of the mission work which led the newly organized, or reorganized, fraternity into the status of a separate communion. Zinzendorf was strongly averse to this result, but he found it difficult to carry on the foreign enterprises upon which the society had embarked, without falling into an independent position. In England the Moravians were first recognized as a distinct communion in 1749.

As respects doctrinal views, Zinzendorf can hardly escape the charge of one-sidedness in certain particulars. For example, he went to the opposite extreme of the Socinian view, and, instead of subordinating the Son to the Father, substituted Him in large measure for the Father. Again, he treated other aspects of Christ's work with relative neglect, in order to lay an overwhelming stress upon His vicarious sacrifice. Connected with this bent was a tendency to give a more minute and sentimental portrayal of the passion of Christ than accords with the highest Christian taste. Equally remote from a sound discretion was his application of the terms of the family relation to the Persons of the Trinity. Grant that his usage was understood to be an accommodation, and that in styl-

ing the Holy Spirit *Mother* he wished principally to indicate the cherishing office of this Divine Person; still, the choice of such terms savored of unwholesome license. Both in Zinzendorf and in many of his followers this zest for the sentimental appears to have been a kind of epidemical sickness for a time, especially between the years 1748 and 1750. Later, the Count himself thought it necessary to place some restraint upon the tendency to luxuriate in overwrought imagery. Happily also his efforts were supplemented by the discreet instructions of Spangenberg, who, as possessing both greater learning and moderation than Zinzendorf, was well qualified to correct his doctrinal defects.

While it is proper to take note of these phases of doctrinal aberration, it would be unjust to centre the whole attention upon them. Alongside the exaggeration there was an excellent trait. In his strong emphasis upon intimate communion with the Lord Christ, Zinzendorf was setting forth a truth that lies near to the heart of the Gospel, and the clear enunciation of which has borne much noble fruit among the Moravians.

In addition to his other contributions, Zinzendorf produced a great number of hymns. Many of these can boast only the humblest merit; some deserve only to be forgotten; but others will ever be cherished as of high excellence.

Among peculiar usages adopted by the Brotherhood may be noticed the lot, love-feasts, feet-washings, and the fraternal kiss at the communion. The lot was designed to recognize Christ's headship, the manner in which it was disposed being taken as an indication of

His will. This mode of decision, employed at one time extensively, became at length less acceptable to the Moravians. In their list of church officers the Brethren have included bishops, presbyters, deacons, deaconesses, and acolytes. The bishops are alone authorized to ordain. Aside from this prerogative, their office in itself confers little distinction. They have individually no diocese, and possess *ex officio* no governing power. In practice, however, they are given a ruling function, since they are commonly elected to the boards and conferences which are charged with the administration.

V. — TENOR OF PROTESTANT HISTORY IN SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS, AND SWITZERLAND.

The political importance acquired by Sweden in the course of the Thirty Years' War enabled her to rank for an interval in the first grade of European powers. But under the adventurous and unfortunate Charles XII. (1697–1718) there was a rapid loss of prestige and influence.

In ecclesiastical affairs Sweden was distinguished by no independent development. The conservative instinct was dominant, so that the reactions against the stringent Lutheran dogmatism which occurred in Germany were for the most part excluded from the northern realm. We read of two bishops who affiliated in a measure with the spirit and principles of Calixtus. But they had a very limited opportunity to spread their views. Exposed to the hostility of the government and the great body of the clergy, they were obliged to pay for their liberality with the sacrifice of their office (1661–

1663). The other Scandinavian countries, if less impervious in the following century to innovation than Sweden, showed much the same theological fixity in the seventeenth century.

It has been noticed that the severe proscription which befell the Arminians in the United Netherlands resulted from a combination of political and ecclesiastical causes, and was soon followed by a more lenient policy. In fact, the Dutch Republic afforded as conspicuous an example of religious tolerance as could anywhere be found in the last three quarters of the seventeenth century. It served accordingly as a refuge for the persecuted, and its ecclesiastical complexion was somewhat variegated.

A good degree of theological activity was maintained in the Calvinistic communion. A part of this went to maintain in full integrity the tenets which were sanctioned at the Synod of Dort. But the Calvinistic body did not remain strictly homogeneous. The Cartesian philosophy acted as a diversifying agent. Espoused by one party, it was strongly reprobated by another. A second cause which worked toward diversity was the "Federal Theology" of Coccejus, so called from the prominence which it gave to Divine covenants. This did not assail any of the Calvinistic tenets, but in its attempt to give to doctrine a more directly Biblical foundation than was secured by the preceding scholastic method, it initiated a tendency to modified views of some of the accepted dogmas. It was accordingly very obnoxious to conservative minds. The dispute at one time (1650-1670) grew so warm between the school

of Coccejus and its opponents that a schism seemed imminent; but at length a ground of mediation was furnished in the softened dogmatism of the younger generation, which had been trained amid the conflicting currents of opinion.

Among the smaller parties which found a refuge in the Dutch Republic was an offshoot of the Anabaptist movement, the Mennonites, or followers of Menno Simons. After 1626 full toleration was accorded them in the republic. In their attitude toward infant baptism the Mennonites held the common Baptist principle. On the other hand, they were distinguished from the ordinary type of Baptists, as not being, in the main, immersionists. In several respects, such as the reprobation of oaths and all forms of violence, they exhibited a distinct kinship with the Quakers.

Like the Mennonites, the Labadists may be described by their relation at once to the Baptists and the Quakers. They resembled the former in regarding baptism as appropriate only to the regenerate; with the latter they were disposed to emphasize the inner working of the Spirit, and the relative independence of this working, or its possible disconnection from the written Word. The Labadists were a small sect, deriving their name from Jean de Labadie, who passed from the Romish to the Reformed Church near the middle of the seventeenth century. Among the disciples of Labadie the most noted was the devout and learned Anna Maria von Schürmann.

A contemporary of Labadie, and like him brought up in the Roman Catholic Church, also obtained a small following in the Netherlands. We refer to the enthu-

siast and mystic, Antoinette Bourignon. Finding by experience that earnest piety was not monopolized by any one church, she came to make little account of the dividing lines between different communions. In this she was imitated by her most distinguished disciple, the Reformed theologian, Pierre Poiret, who systematized her ideas and presented them in purified form.

The jealousy which existed between the Romish and the Reformed Cantons of Switzerland twice issued into open violence within the period. In the earlier contest (1656), which is described as the first Vilmergen war, the advantage was with the Romish party. In the later struggle, or second Vilmergen war (1712), the victory was with the Reformed Cantons. In neither case, however, was the gain or the loss of sufficient moment to seriously disturb the political or religious balance in the Confederacy.

In its theological activity the Protestant Church of Switzerland gave some distinct tokens of the influence of outside movements. The conservative party had occasion to defend Swiss orthodoxy against the modified Calvinism which was advocated in France by Placæus and Amyraut, as also against the critical views of Louis Cappel.¹ The Helvetic Consensus Formula (1675) was designed to raise a secure barrier against innovation from this direction. It can hardly be said to have fulfilled the aim of those by whom it was contrived. Some

¹ Placæus advocated mediate imputation of Adam's sin, as opposed to immediate. Amyraut contended that Christ died for all, though the benefits of his death are efficaciously applied only to the elect. Cappel opposed the extreme theory of the time, which made even the vowel-points in the Hebrew Bible the product of inspiration.

years later a resolute attempt was made to close the door against Pietism, which had crossed the border from Germany. The attempt was but partially successful. While Pietism did not become a controlling factor, it continued to hold a place in Switzerland.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN CHURCH.

THE history of the Reformation gave but minor occasion for any reference to the Eastern branches of the Church. In connection with this field, therefore, we unite the preceding with the present period, and briefly note the principal events which took place in the first two centuries of the modern era.

The futility of the union scheme, which was wrought out with so much pains at the Council of Florence, did not discourage effort at Rome for gaining jurisdiction over the East. Much attention was given to Russia, and to the districts under Polish dominion in which the Greek communion was largely represented. Leo X. in 1519 endeavored to convince the Czar that union with Rome would be a great blessing to his realm. Clement VII. took pains in 1524 and 1526 to repeat the representation. In 1581 Gregory XIII. sent the Jesuit Possevin to Moscow to work in the interests of the papal supremacy. A friendly reception was accorded to the ambassador by the Czar, but no favor was shown to his project.¹ The advantage which was gained under the false Demetrius, about twenty-five years later, proved to be unsubstantial, and vanished with the overthrow of

¹ P. Strahl, *Beiträge zur russischen Kirchengeschichte*; Philaret, *Geschichte der Kirche Russlands ins Deutsch übersetzt* von Dr. Blumenthal, i. 285, 286.

the usurper. In Poland and Lithuania, on the other hand, the Roman emissary was able to inaugurate a work that secured considerable accessions to papal rule. A plan of union was devised which allowed those brought up in the Greek communion to retain their rites, only requiring them to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. This scheme left to its own merits would have made little headway. But the King of Poland, the Sigismund to whom Sweden denied her crown, was a zealot for the Romish faith, and was ready to use the power of the State in the interests of propagandism. Russian historians speak with great bitterness of the violence with which he persecuted the "Orthodox" till the end of his reign. Thus Philaret says: "Up to the death of Sigismund the Orthodox were pursued with all the blood-thirstiness of the Spanish Inquisition, to bring them under the Pope. It is not surprising that the use of such means, during a period of forty years, caused half of the Orthodox in the four millions of inhabitants of Lithuania and White Russia to pass over to the Union or the ranks of the Latins."¹ Under Vladislaff (1632-1648) a milder policy was adopted. Still complaints of unjust pressure were called forth in this and also in later reigns.

The negotiations with the Coptic communion in Egypt availed as little for Rome as did her embassies at Moscow. While the Coptic representatives who vis-

¹ *Geschichte*, ii. 65, 66. It appeared subsequently that the acceptance of the papal headship did not result in any thorough fusion with the Latins. After the partition of Poland a way was opened for the return of the Uniates to the Greek communion. In 1839 a million and six hundred thousand of them were incorporated with the Russian Church. (Mouravieff, *History of the Russian Church*, appended notes, p. 391.)

ited the Western capital (1561, 1594) seemed to grant all that the Pope desired, the event proved that their words were simply Oriental rhetoric, covering designs to make use of the papal friendship rather than to surrender to papal rule. In dealing with the Armenians some gain was realized. The loose connection which previously had been formed with a fraction of the Armenian communion acquired more the character of a real union in the course of the seventeenth century.¹

To Protestantism the Greek Church in all its branches remained almost wholly impervious. While the Orthodox who had to contend against the aggression of the Polish government were ready to unite in a political alliance with their persecuted neighbors of the Protestant faith, they had very little leaning toward a religious union with them. Russia, with its mediæval life and worship and modes of thought, had of course no understanding for Protestantism. A rejection of the adoration of images and of saints could mean to the average Russian nothing less than a rejection of religion itself. First in the time of Peter the Great, when there was a considerable influx of foreigners, the doctrines of the Reformers began to win converts. The fire spread far enough to excite public attention at the principal centres, but was speedily stamped out by the authorities.²

The means taken in the sixteenth century to acquaint the Patriarch of Constantinople with the nature of Protestantism — such as the transmission of the Augsburg Confession by Melanchthon (1559), and the friendly communication of the Tübingen theologians Andreä

¹ Gieseler, § 64.

² Mouravieff, pp. 272, 273; Philaret, ii. 106, 107.

and Crusius (1574) — were without noteworthy result. In the early part of the next century, however, Protestantism had its representative at Constantinople; and that representative was none other than the highest dignitary of the Eastern Church. Cyril Lucar, who was made Patriarch of Alexandria in 1602, and of Constantinople in 1621, instead of treating Protestantism with the haughty indifference and ignorant contempt congenial to hierarchical assumption, gave it an earnest and candid examination. The result was a pronounced conviction that it had Scripture and reason on its side. As appears from his Confession, published at Geneva in Latin in 1629, and again in Greek in 1633, he adopted a creed substantially identical with the main articles of the Reformed theology. The genuineness of this creed has indeed been called in question. In 1672 the Council of Jerusalem (sometimes called that of Bethlehem), while condemning the doctrines of Cyril's Confession, rejected the conclusion that it was from his hand or expressed his views. The same opinion has been entertained in the Greek Church down to a recent date, as appears from the language of Philaret and Mouravieff. But this negative verdict, while not unnatural, must give way before known facts. To say nothing about the testimony of contemporaries who were acquainted with Cyril, the correspondence of the Patriarch with various representatives of the Protestant Churches proves conclusively that he had embraced such doctrines as are contained in the Confession bearing his name, and had no wish to conceal the fact.¹

¹ See Thomas Smith, *Miscellanea*, *Narratio de Vita, Studiis, Gestis, et Martyrio D. Cyrilli Lucarii*; Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiae Ori-*

The talents of Cyril Lucar were such as naturally to win respect and command influence. But he needed vastly greater support than was available in order to sustain himself with his innovating sentiments. Under the Turkish despotism, the position of the Patriarch was in any case a precarious one. How uncertain then must have been that of Cyril, who was watched not only by jealous foes in his own communion, but by representatives of Romish propagandism, more especially the Jesuits and the French ambassador. These understood that the temper of Cyril was utterly inconsistent with their schemes, and were bent on accomplishing his overthrow. For a time, being aided by the friendship of the English and Dutch ambassadors, the Patriarch was able to hold out against attacks, though at the expense of frequent banishments. But finally, in 1638, slanderous charges had their designed effect. Cyril was secretly executed by order of the Sultan, and his body was cast into the sea. His career makes a singular episode in the history of the Eastern Church. Without forerunners and without successors, he appears a solitary figure. So far as can be discerned, his testimony found no lodgement with his people. The result was rather a reaction against the Reformation, as may be judged from such creeds as were promulgated in the ensuing years.¹

entalis, Proleg.; J. M. Neale, *History of the Eastern Church, The Patriarchate of Alexandria*, vol. ii. Neale gives a favorable estimate of the character of Cyril Lucar, though, in accordance with his High Church standpoint, he cannot think of his lapse into Protestantism as anything else than a frightful apostasy.

¹ The Orthodox Confession of Mogilas, drawn up in 1640, adopted in 1643 by a synod of Greek and Russian clergy, and confirmed by the Synod

The interior history of the Russian Church records two constitutional changes of special note between the era of the Reformation and the closing years of Peter the Great. The first was the elevation of the Metropolitan of Moscow into Patriarch of Russia. This took place in 1588-89 by the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople, whose headship had been recognized up to that time, but who had in fact, since the enthronement of the Turks at Constantinople, exercised but little control over Russian affairs. The advancement which the patriarchal standing secured to the Metropolitan of Moscow was more in the line of dignity than of authority. His functions remained essentially what they had been previously. The second change, which occurred in 1721, consisted in the abolition of the patriarchate and the location of the supreme authority in a synod.¹ The prerogatives of the Holy Synod, as it is called, are thus described: "It is its duty to care for purity of doctrine and good order in worship; to oppose heresies and schisms; to prove narratives relating to the saints; to root out all superstitions; to watch over the preaching of the Divine Word; to select men for the chief pastoral positions and to install them; to give such the needful counsels in doubtful matters, and to pass upon the complaints of those who are dissatisfied with the management of their ecclesiastical superiors.

of Jerusalem in 1672; the Defence or Apology of Orthodoxy, published by the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672; the Confession of Dosithens, adopted by the same Synod.

¹ The Synod at first consisted of four archbishops, seven archimandrites (or abbots), and two archpriests. A ukase in 1763 limited the composition of the Synod to three archbishops, two archimandrites, and one archpriest. (Philaret, ii. 173.)

In particular to it belongs supervision over all institutions for the education of the clergy, the censorship of religious writings, the critical inspection of relics and miracles, as also the associated function of canonizing. Their jurisdiction covers doubtful marriages, or those contracted within the forbidden degrees, and likewise cases of divorce. In general, whatever pertains to the doctrine, worship, and administration of the national Church falls under the care and judgment of the Synod."¹ It only needs to be added, that in Russia the Byzantine idea of the relation of Church and State has always been dominant. A few instances may indeed be pointed out in which the ecclesiastical head has ventured to rebuke the Czar. Thus Philip, the Metropolitan of Moscow, courageously reproved Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584) for his cruelties, and won in consequence the honors of martyrdom. But instances like this of reproof for personal misconduct are quite different from deliberate attempts to antagonize a governmental policy. The Czar in fact has held much the place of an autocrat in the Church as well as in the State. This does not imply that he has had any special theological significance, since doctrine has been in the Russian Church a mere matter of inheritance.

Monasticism continued to be a conspicuous feature. Besides being favored by the high estimate which the Russians placed upon asceticism, it had the advantage of being represented in the chief ecclesiastical positions. This followed from the compromise on the subject of clerical celibacy which was adopted in the Eastern Church, in accordance with which priests and

¹ Philaret, ii. 174.

deacons were expected to live in relations of marriage, but bishops were required to be celibates. Monks and widower priests, therefore, were selected for the episcopal dignity. In character the monasticism of Russia showed greater uniformity than that of the Western countries of Europe. One rule, that of Basil, governed all the societies. The main distinction concerned the degree of asceticism. The hermits were honored as exhibiting the maximum of austerity, and, like earlier representatives of the class, enjoyed special license in addressing admonitions to dignitaries.

The sixteenth century witnessed but little change in the general tone of religion in Russia. There was vastly more of religious habits than of religious life. Neither in clergy nor in people was piety ballasted with any fair degree of intelligence. In large districts preaching was a thing entirely unknown, and was even regarded as undesirable, inasmuch as it might loosen some stone in the foundation of traditional belief. "The orthodox faith," says Rambaud, "deprived of the stimulus of liberty and instruction, tended to become mere routine. Salvation was gained by hearing long liturgies, by multiplying Slavonic orisons, by making hundreds of prostrations and genuflections, by telling rosaries, and by frequenting shrines. The most celebrated centres were the catacombs of Kief, where sleep the incorruptible bodies of the saints, and where dwell their successors without ever seeing the light of day; the monastery of St. Cyril, on the White Lake; of St. Sergius, at Troïtsa; and the cathedral of St. Sophia, at Novgorod. Men prostrated themselves at the tombs of St. Peter and St. Alexis of Moscow; before the

wonder-working virgins of Vladimir, Smolensk, Tischvin, and Pskof.”¹

The inertia which any attempt at change or improvement encountered was several times illustrated in the course of the period. A signal instance occurred as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. Nikon, the most energetic and vigorous personality in the list of Russian Patriarchs, undertook then a work of reform. His designs were far from being revolutionary. He wished to correct the loose morals of the clergy, and to mend the errors which ignorance and carelessness had brought into the sacred books. In both these designs, being seconded by the throne, he was in a measure successful. Many a priest, convicted of drunkenness, felt the smart of the scourge; for Nikon had something of the temper of that barbarous civilizer, Peter the Great, who took up the reins of power in the next generation. His haughtiness and severity naturally limited the number of his friends, and finally occasioned a breach with the Czar. But there were many to whom the savage rigor of the prelate seemed the smaller of his offences. That he should dare to meddle with the sacred books and seek to revise the ceremonial by a comparison of the existing translations with the Greek originals was deemed by them an unpardonable sin. Errors had become so sanctified in their view that it was sacrilege to mend them. Some of them also had an obstinate preference for several infinitesimal items of ceremonial.²

¹ History of Russia, i. 309.

² Some of the points emphasized were the following: (1) In church processions the course of the sun must be followed, and not the re-

Out of this desperate and ignorant conservatism grew a schism in the Russian Church which has never been healed. The dissenters called themselves Starovers, or Old Believers, but outsiders have generally termed them Raskolniki, or Schismatics. They were known in later times in two main branches, the moderate and the extreme, or those with clergy and those without.

The reforms of Peter the Great, as they were a defiance in general to Russian conservatism, naturally gave a great impetus to the Raskolniki. At first the reforming Czar was disposed to treat the schismatics with much lenity, and uttered some generous sentiments on the subject of religious tolerance. But when he perceived that a refuge was offered in their midst to those disaffected with his policy in the State, he imposed special burdens upon them as the price of their continued enjoyment of special traditional customs.

Besides substituting the Holy Synod for the Patriarch, and restricting in a measure the access of his subjects to the monastery, Peter the Great interfered but little with the Russian Church. He regarded himself as its faithful upholder and protector. While he allowed resident foreigners to retain their own worship, he denied to them the privilege of propagandism. The banishment of the Jesuits is explained by their failure to keep within the restriction imposed. As Voltaire has remarked, the Czar regarded them as dangerous political enemies.

verse. (2) In crossing one's self and in blessing, two fingers, instead of three, must be used. (3) Only the eight-armed cross, or that having three transverse pieces, is to be honored. (4) Only the old pictures, or those copied from them, are to be venerated. (Philaret, ii. 131.)

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